

# MID-AMERICA

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# MID-AMERICA

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## Lawlessness in Cairo, Illinois 1848-1858

As the frontier line of settlement moved westward across the American continent in the nineteenth century one of the ever present problems was the establishment and maintenance of a reasonable degree of law and order. While most of the early settlers were honest and stable persons, the West also attracted the undesirable and the dissolute. Since little attention was paid to a person's past on the frontier, malefactors easily lost their identity and practiced their lawless arts before stable governments and courts could be established. The movement of large numbers of emigrants into a new area, gave thieves, gamblers and crooks of every description ample opportunity to prey upon the honest and unwary along the overland and river routes and border towns where the hand of the law was feeble. The early river settlements were especially notorious with their large numbers of transient rivermen from the numerous flatboats and steamboats which moved in endless procession along western waterways. The so-called "snapping turtle, half-man, half-alligator" type of boatmen who drank, fought and gouged among themselves and with the inhabitants of the river towns is well known to the student of western history.

That the early West should have had its full share of parasites "two jumps ahead of the sheriff" was inevitable under the circumstances in the border settlements. Large transient populations, often predominately male, including a goodly number of turbulent riff-raff, with saloons, dance halls, bawdy houses and gamb-

Note. The preparation of this paper was made possible in part by a research grant from Southern Illinois University.

ling dens wide open, without adequate police and court protection, or, at times, jails, gave ample opportunity for fighting, robbery, murder and crooked dealings of every possible description. There were always some of respectable backgrounds who now found crime easier than the hard manual labor necessary for existence. The philosophy of the stable and law-abiding citizen often served as an encouragement to evil-doing. Many westerners accepted the responsibility of taking the law into their own hands or fought their own battles even where reasonable attempts had been made to establish acceptable courts and local government. They preferred at times to act as vigilance and regulatory groups in order that prompt and proper punishment be administered. Frontier juries were apt to be lenient with violators of the law, and jumping bail and breaking jail were common practices.

In the study and research of frontier lawlessness, too much attention has doubtless been placed on the lives and activities of such notorious characters as Wild Bill Hickock, Billy the Kid, Henry Plummer, the Harpes and Jesse James. Legendary accounts of these men abound while details of what actually took place in many of the western settlements have been neglected. In the opinion of the writer, the greatest need at present in the field of Western lawlessness is the preparation of a number of local studies dealing with the various towns and settlements based on newspaper and other local records. The purpose of this paper to present such a study of early lawlessness in the river town of Cairo, Illinois, and to trace the attempts to maintain law and order there in the ten year period from 1848 to 1858.

The development of steamboat navigation from its inception in 1819 on the Mississippi and Ohio Rivers played a major role in the growth and expansion of the West and was important in the establishment of the river town of Cairo.<sup>1</sup> Located on the small neck of alluvial soil at the junction of the two rivers the town grew slowly in early years regardless of the optimism and high ambitions of some of its promoters. The City and The Bank of Cairo were created by the territorial legislature of Illinois for the purpose of developing the townsite and received the signature of Governor Edwards on January 9, 1816. Since few would buy lots the project

<sup>1</sup> Charles Henry Ambler, *A History of Transportation in the Ohio Valley*, Glendale, California, 1932, 129-130, tells how Captain Henry M. Shreve's round-trip between Louisville and New Orleans, March 12 to April 22, 1817, proved navigation practicable; three months later the townsite at Cairo was entered.



failed<sup>2</sup> and nothing further was done to promote the settlement until early in March, 1837, when the Cairo City and Canal Company was incorporated.<sup>3</sup> Attempting to lease its land rather than sell it the company failed in 1843. The next and last townsite company organized to promote the location of Cairo was The Cairo City Trust Company, incorporated on September 29, 1846. Somewhat tardy in getting their scheme into operation the trustees began selling lots in 1853.<sup>4</sup>

Many optimistic predictions in the early years of townsite promotion told how important and how great Cairo was to become. The faith that at the junction of these two important rivers would develop the "Greatest City of the West" and even the "Metropolis of the Nation," did not materialize, although it is remarkable how it persisted. The first issue of the *Cairo Delta*, on April 13, 1848, said: "No one . . . doubts these wonderful advantages possessed by Cairo, which designate it by far the greatest point in the West for a commercial and manufacturing emporium." On April 16, 1851, the editor of the first issue of the *Cairo Sun*, said: "There is no place in the world, at least off the seaboard, holding so prominent a geographical and commercial position." Settlers came in dribbles. In 1826 Cairo was a mere stopping place with a tavern and a store.<sup>5</sup> By 1850 its population numbered only 242 inhabitants. During the next few years however, the town grew rather rapidly and in 1860 had a population of 2,188 persons.

Two factors tending to boom the town and to bring into the settlement large numbers of transients and some workers were the numerous steamboats that stopped there and the construction of the Illinois Central Railroad. On November 2, 1848, the *Delta* said: "Every boat stops at Cairo," and early in 1855, the failure of a steamer to stop brought word from the editor of the *Times* that it was "shrewdly suspected that she was afraid to land for fear of

<sup>2</sup> Arthur Clinton Boggess, *The Settlement of Illinois in 1776-1830*, Chicago, 1908, 114.

<sup>3</sup> Theodore Calvin Pease, *The Story of Illinois*, Chicago, 1949, 99. In the spirit of boom times the State Legislature granted numerous charters in 1836 and passed the General Improvement Bill, February 27, 1837, authorizing a grand scheme for internal improvements for Illinois.

<sup>4</sup> Robert R. Curtis, "Enterprises and Life in Early Cairo," M. A. Thesis, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, 1950, 15-18.

<sup>5</sup> William V. Pooley, *Settlement of Illinois from 1830-1850*. Doctoral dissertation, University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1908, 323. Towns and villages of southern Illinois at the time had from one to two hundred inhabitants. Shawneetown, the largest, had four houses in 1820 and sixty in 1826 with some three hundred inhabitants. In 1830 it was the chief town in southeast Illinois. Many emigrants going west by way of the Ohio landed there.

being tied up for an old bill."<sup>6</sup> Early in 1849 the *Delta* announced that 4566 steamboats had landed at Cairo in the previous twelve month period.<sup>7</sup> While this is probably an exaggeration, a careful analysis of the files of the local press covering a thirty-six week period shows average monthly landings of from 280 to 290. This same rate would bring the annual landings to approximately 3650. Records published by the Cairo City Property Trust Company in 1850 estimates the river traffic at Cairo at "no less then 288 arrivals and departures every month." Curtis who has made a careful study of average annual arrivals and departures of steamboats<sup>8</sup> during the late eighteen forties and throughout most of the eighteen fifties places the number each year somewhere between 3500 and 4000.<sup>9</sup> The transshipment of steamboat cargoes during low water was never as significant as some had thought it would be.

The Illinois Central Railroad was incorporated by the State of Illinois on February 10, 1851, and within a few months had organized itself in the State of New York. By mid-summer the railroad engineers visited Cairo and went north to start laying out the routes.<sup>10</sup> The road was completed to Cairo late in April, 1854, and travel to St. Louis began.<sup>11</sup> The first trains only ran to the upper depot, but in 1857 the practice was started of running trains to the lower depot a half hour before train time to pick up passengers, as there were those who would take the steamboat to St. Louis rather than walk a mile to the upper depot. The construction of the railroad brought laborers and certain business activities to Cairo, while later work on the levees did likewise.<sup>12</sup>

There is ample evidence to indicate that the period from 1848 to 1858 was turbulent one in the town of Cairo. The local press is filled with accounts of every type of crime and evil-doing known in the West. There was brawling and fighting, shooting, knifing and murder, gambling, counterfeiting, prostitution, incendiarism

<sup>6</sup> The Cairo City Times, February 28, 1855.

<sup>7</sup> The Cairo Delta, January 4, 1849.

<sup>8</sup> River steamboats arriving at Cairo usually docked alongside wharfbots, "large steamers with their engines, etc., taken out, but with cabins remaining." The wharfboat combined the functions of a warehouse, tavern, and hotel. The Cairo Delta, August 31, 1848. The editor of the Cairo Sun, April 1, 1852, described the new wharfboat of Mr. Henry Simmons.

<sup>9</sup> Curtis, Enterprises and Life in Early Cairo, 35.

<sup>10</sup> The Cairo Sun, April 10 and June 19, 1851.

<sup>11</sup> The Cairo City Times, August 23 and 30, and November 22, 1854.

<sup>12</sup> Paul Wallace Gates, *The Illinois Central Railroad and its Colonization Work*, Cambridge, Mass., 1934, *passim*, has between one and two hundred men working on the levee at different times. See also the Cairo City Times, June 7, 1854, for description of the work, and Curtis, Enterprises and Life, 62-64.

and the picking of pockets. Drunkenness, closely connected with many of the types of lawlessness, was common and the amount of whisky, rum and brandy consumed must have been enormous. In 1856 when the population of Cairo was less than two thousand the town licensed twenty-eight "groceries"<sup>13</sup> and two billiard halls. The fee for a license to operate a "grocery" was placed at seventy-five dollars in 1855.<sup>14</sup> Heavy drinking was taken for granted by the local authorities, who objected however, to bootleggers and to the sale of liquor on Sunday even by a licensed place.

Lack of effective police, of courts, of lockups in the earlier years of the period added to the confusion and served to encourage crime among the transient river riff-raff constantly making temporary stops of varying lengths in this busy frontier settlement at the junction of the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers. The editor of Cairo's first newspaper writing in November, 1848, under the heading, "The Stream of Life" emphasized the number of transients in town when he said in part:

Thousands of strangers have been at Cairo during the past week. Few can imagine the amount of traveling on the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers without stopping at this place. Every boat stops at Cairo. . . . From all lands they come—men seeking their fortune, and men seeking to spend that which they have already secured—the youth full of life and hope, just starting the race and tottering old age vainly attempting to travel and change the scene and clime to lengthen the short span yet left. A world is moving on before us like the silently flowing waters of the rivers which here mingle.<sup>15</sup>

Early in October, 1848, the *Delta* called attention to the need of a jail in the settlement, as the nearest one at that time was in the County seat at Thebes, some forty miles up the Mississippi. A good many "rogues" were reported to be in town and: "The peace of the place is almost nightly disturbed by the lower class of boatmen, more or less of whom are constantly making temporary stoppages with the pleasant idea that this town is peculiarly a land of liberty. There is no way at present of curing them of their mistake."<sup>16</sup> A few months later it was urged that the citizens of the town be on the "lookout when our place is infested with so many persons without any apparent means of livelihood."<sup>17</sup> In the spring

<sup>13</sup> Curtis, 82. The sign "Groceries" in the fifties indicated a place where liquor was sold.

<sup>14</sup> *Cairo Weekly Delta*, September 26, 1855.

<sup>15</sup> *Cairo Delta*, November 2, 1848.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, October 12 and 19, 1848.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, January 3, 1849.

of 1855, the local press was pleased to report that a "sharp eye kept upon a delegation of thieves and pickpockets landed there by steamboats the past week made up of the off-scouring of St. Louis, New Orleans and other cities, had resulted in little damage being done to the citizens of Cairo."<sup>18</sup> Some weeks later concern was expressed by the editor that the bad reputation the town was getting might do harm to its future growth and prosperity. He said in part: "Indeed, if notoriety were all that the friends of Cairo desired for her, they would not ask for a more complete realization of their hopes."<sup>19</sup>

On April 23, 1856, the steamboat *America* arrived in Cairo from New Orleans bringing some eighteen hundred "bats of iron" for the Illinois Central Railroad under construction from the north. She was detained about twenty-four hours discharging it. The editor continues:

She also brought about two hundred of the most despicable ruffians and cutthroats we ever saw. They hailed from Alabama and the sand hills of Georgia, and said they were going to Kansas to vote and return after the election. On Sunday night about fifty of them went out on the Mississippi levee, fell upon three men, shot at them several times, and beat them in the most cruel way.<sup>20</sup>

Under these circumstances there was bound to be much rowdiness resulting in large numbers of bloody fights as men were beaten, slashed with knives or shot. Early in January, 1854, a "free for all" fight was reported at the Delta House with one man badly hurt with an iron poker. A short time later a stranger was attacked by two ruffians for some trivial cause and cut with an axe so badly that his death "seemed inevitable." On August 2, 1854, a man was so badly beaten in a street fight that he went over inside the levee, "where he laid down and died." On September 6, it was announced that: "The fall fights have commenced, and this time we think in good earnest." A week later the weather man said to have been "decidedly too warm for pugilism" and the fights that day were only scrimmages in preparation for the cool weather. The editor ended his discourse in a poetic vein:

Many a groan increased the din  
of battered nose and broken skin.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Cairo *Weekly Times and Delta*, March 21, 1855.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, May 9, 1855.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, April 23, 1856. After the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill both North and South sent people into Kansas to vote under the squatter sovereignty arrangement.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, January 3, June 7, September 6 and 13, 1854.

On February 21, 1855, "there was a perfect diarrhea of fights" reported on the levee and on the wharfboat last week, and "we are gratified to state," wrote the editor, "that no citizen of Cairo was engaged in any of the musses." With the building of the railroad and the improvement of the Cairo levee, large groups of Irish laborers were employed and there appears to have been some prejudice against them although from available reports the Irishmen in most cases proved to be capable of taking care of themselves. The first press notice or racial feeling appears in September, 1855, when the editor of the *Weekly Times and Delta* observed:

The so-called 'American Spirit' appears to have reached Cairo in small doses. A roving band of rowdies organized for the purpose of maltreating drunken and defenseless Irishmen has been active recently. The Irish have done nothing to provoke this exhibition of rowdyism and wanton cruelty. The perpetrators of the outrage should be punished.<sup>22</sup>

Although a police force was organized, a Court of Common Pleas established, and a jail constructed in 1856, brawling and fighting continued. On March 19, 1856, a peaceable citizen was so badly hurt in attempting to stop a fight in a saloon that "doubts were entertained of his recovery." On December 3 of the same year a general "plug muss" was reported in which knives, brickbats, clubs and bottles were freely used, one man being "literally cut to pieces."<sup>23</sup> In June, 1857, a fight was reported at the "Upper Depot" in which several participants were badly cut and bruised and on August 30 a man was assaulted on the levee, without provocation by two bullies and killed."<sup>24</sup>

Early in 1858, a man by the name of O'Brien was stabbed by an unknown person outside the St. Paul Hotel. He died from the wound but no arrests were made. On March 17, 1858, the editor of the *Times and Delta* announced: "The spring fights opened brilliantly on Saturday." Although several of the troublemakers were arrested and fined the punitive results could not have been very satisfactory, since early in June on the same year the editor sug-

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, September 13, 1856. Prejudice existed against the Irish because they were not native Americans and because they were of the Roman Catholic faith. There are several references in the press to Irishmen being beaten—and also of retaliations. While Negroes were apparently given the same consideration of Whites, the editor of the *Times and Delta*, July 16, 1857, reporting a serious fight among a group of Negroes, said: "How does it happen that so many colored blackguards are permitted to remain in Cairo? Where are these impudent niggers imported from, Cincinnati or Shawneetown? We suggest that the officers move them on."

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, March 19 and December 3, 1856.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, August 30, 1857.



gested to the City Council that a chain gang ought to be created to take care of the violators of the law. He recommended speedy action, for the vagrant law then in operation in his opinion was a "dead letter."<sup>25</sup>

Robbery and thievery cases were reported every week, many of which resulted in fatalities as some of the victims were beaten and left to die in the back streets and on the levee. One of the first issues of the *Delta* in 1848 tells of the arrest of a Mr. Walters for robbing the house of a Mr. McGilfrey. Walters was examined by the justice of the peace, H. Shannessy, and not having the money for bail "was committed."<sup>26</sup> There were so many cases of petty thievery occurring that on September 6, 1849, the editor called attention to the large numbers of undesirables passing through the town and warned the citizens to be on the lookout when "Our place is infested with so many persons without any apparent means of livelihood."

On August 1, 1855, a saloon was broken into and on the following seventh of November a Negro was slugged and relieved of two hundred dollars. A week later an attempt was made to enter Tom Watson's Store.<sup>27</sup> On February 20, 1856, a man was "set upon" in Ten-Pin Alley by a gang of ruffians and was robbed after being "horribly cut and mutilated."<sup>28</sup> About the same time it was reported that a man walked up to Stearn's Market and "cooly shouldered a saddle of venison and marched off with the plunder." He was warned in the press that his identity was known and unless the stolen property was returned promptly he would receive "Cairo Justice."<sup>29</sup> On April 30, 1856, the office of the Adams Express Company was reported in the same paper as robbed and on August 6 the patience of the editor was about exhausted when he told that on Thursday night "some dirty scoundrel entered the residence of Father McCabe, next to the Catholic church, and ab-

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, January 27 and March 17, 1856.

<sup>26</sup> *Cairo Delta*, July 13, 1848. Since Cairo had no jail, its jailbirds were probably sheltered in the Thebes County Jail.

<sup>27</sup> *Cairo Weekly Times and Delta*, November 7 and 14, 1855.

<sup>28</sup> Cairo's underworld had apparently reached a stage attained in many another town and city over the world; it had a street all its own in Ten Pin Alley, mentioned in the press especially as "a festering nuisance to our city."

<sup>29</sup> *Cairo Weekly Times and Delta*, January 9, 1856. This was, of course, vigilante action, common in frontier towns, which citizens took the law into their own hands when crime became rampant: "Lynch Law" was different as regards authority and application, since it occurred where suitable law enforcement agencies existed and was applied to the case of a single crime.



stracted therefrom the silver chalice, candle sticks and some other articles belonging to the altar."<sup>30</sup> He was shot at twice but succeeded in making his escape.

In the fall of 1856 a carpet bag containing all of the belongings of the journeyman printer employed by the local press was stolen. "A man must be hard up indeed, when he steals from a poor printer," observed the editor. On May 27, 1857, "an epidemic" of robberies were reported in town "the writer enumerating a long list of the worse cases. He closed his comments with these words: "Thievery and rascality are becoming rife among us." In December another long list of burglaries were reported among which was the robbery of the Jewelry Store of Antrim and Cohn from which thirty gold and silver watches were taken valued at about \$1600. On April 14, 1858, conditions were still very bad in town, causing the crusading editor to write in his column:

Swindling visitors gives Cairo a bad name, and should be put an end to vigorously and decisively. . . . Every steamboat that lands at our levee is immediately boarded by a pack of thieves of different grades and varieties, vagrants who have no visible means of support, and who never hesitate to pick up everything they can lay their hands on.

Cairo had its full share of murder cases, only a few of which can be mentioned. On January 16, 1856, a man by the name of William Lawrence was reported to have been "fouly murdered at the Coffee House" by a deckhand from aboard the steamboat *The Star of the West*. Lawrence's skull was broken by a heavy blow with a piece of iron. A large crowd gathered and threatened to pull down the Coffee House but was finally dispersed. No arrests had been made at the time the paper went to press. On December 17, 1857, the *Weekly Times and Delta* told how an unknown man was "brutally murdered" at an establishment operated by L. Goin several doors below the Taylor House. Goin had made his escape and had not been located.

<sup>30</sup> If there were any spiritual ministrations to the settlers of Cairo prior to 1847, no records are available. A Rev. Elisha J. Durbin, Catholic priest of the Louisville Diocese attended fifteen stations in Kentucky, Illinois and Indiana in 1847; Shawneetown was one and Cairo may have been another; *Catholic Almanac 1847*, 126. In 1850 Cairo was visited by some priest or priests of St. Vincent's College, Cape Girardeau, Missouri; *Catholic Almanac 1850*, 113, and *1851*, 149. In 1855 Rev. Patrick McCabe, who said mass once a month in the railroad depot at Shawneetown, occasionally visited Cairo; *Ibid.*, 1855, 177, 1856, 100, where it is stated that there is no church in Cairo, meaning there was none in 1855. In 1857 and 1858, and possibly before that time, Father McCabe was in Cairo, and the *Almanac* for 1858, 134, records him as pastor of St. Patrick's frame church with an assistant priest named Thomas Walsh.

The murder case that created the most excitement and received the widest attention in the local press was the Smith-Blackburn affair.<sup>31</sup> Doctors D. T. Smith and T. F. Blackburn had a serious argument early in March, 1857, at which time Smith had threatened to shoot Blackburn. Both men were arrested and fined by the justice of the peace at which time Blackburn used harsh language toward Smith. That night after dark as Blackburn was passing Smith's office, Smith stepped up behind him and without provocation, according to several witnesses, placed a pistol close to Blackburn's back and shot him in cold blood. While the wound was not considered fatal at first Blackburn died within a few days and Smith "left Cairo for parts unknown." A reward of five hundred dollars was offered for his capture and a group of Cairo citizens were soon reported to be in hot pursuit. He was arrested near Charleston, Illinois, on March 7 and brought back to stand trial. He was brought before the justice of the peace and was committed to jail about the middle of the month. On April 1 the editor called attention to the fact that Smith was still in custody of the cheriff and had not been placed in jail which he declared to be "an outrage." Three weeks later Smith was reported to have escaped and using the words of the editor, "beyond all probability effectually." The *Weekly Times and Delta* of May 6, 1857, carried a signed paid advertisement calling attention to the fact that Dr. Smith had subscribed rather heavily to a building fund to complete the local Methodist church in order that he might gain the support of its members in the forthcoming trial. Smith was at large several months but was arrested with a great deal of difficulty by C. D. Arter and James Lynch near Bolivar, Tennessee, and returned to Cairo.<sup>32</sup> He was promptly committed to the county jail at Thebes and tried in the next term of court. More than twenty witnesses were supenoed from Cairo and the town was very much interested in the trial. The jury was out only ten minutes and returned a verdict of not guilty. The Cairo Editor was highly incensed at what he called this "miscarriage of justice" but thought it wise to allow the matter to drop.<sup>33</sup>

While the local press says nothing regarding the operation of regular gambling establishments, they must have existed in Cairo.

<sup>31</sup> Cairo *Weekly Times and Delta*, March 4, 11, 18, 23, and April 1 and 22, 1857. This case is of considerable significance as it indicates the lenient attitude toward criminal cases on the frontier and the difficulty in obtaining convictions by local juries.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, May 6 and October 21, 1857.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, May 26, June 2 and 9, 1857.

However, the editor and the citizens of the town took strong exception to the transient gamblers who frequented the taverns, saloons, and wharfboats ever on the watch to fleece the inexperienced and the unwary. The situation is well presented in the fall of 1855 when on November 7 the editor of the *Weekly Times and Delta* said:

We regret to observe the influx of gamblers into Cairo. During the past week we have seen several whose faces we saw last season on the wharf boat. We are further informed that many of these gentry have been practicing in Cairo on the 'Green Ones.' If they are caught we hope that the regulators will treat them to a coat of tar and feathers, and that each citizen will do his best to put down all establishments were [sic] gambling is carried on.

On November 21, 1855, two gamblers who had swindled a Negro out of \$240 the Sunday before were caught and "Cairo Justice" administered, after which they were chased across the Ohio River. This episode caused some of the undesirables to leave town. "Thus may they all do," commented the editor, "for people of that character are the very ones who have given Cairo a bad name in times past, and we want none of their company." On January 9, 1856, gamblers were again plentiful in town, and on April 30, an account was given of how a man by the name of Eldrington from Columbus, Ohio, was sharpened for three hundred dollars in a poker game at the Taylor House, and the gamblers escaped. In August, 1857, a drunken youth from Kentucky bet six hundred dollars and his saddle bags on a little game of "Three Card Monte." He lost and wandered "wildly and woefully about the levee, bewailing his loss and seeking his goods. He departed a wiser if not a better man," said the editor on August 5.

Fire hazards were always rather heavy in most frontier settlements due to the inflammability of the buildings and the lack of adequate fire protection. There were, however, in the busy and crowded town of Cairo evidence of fires incendiary in nature. Fires were set at times to cause confusion and disorder so that thievery and robbery might be carried out while the fire was in progress. On May 2, 1855, several fires that appeared to be of such origin became front page news. Two stores were set on fire and burned involving losses amounting to about ten thousand dollars, only a part of which was covered by insurance. "These fires," wrote the editor, "were apparently set through the wickedness of the wretch who gained nothing by it, with the exception of what he could steal. A night police is very much needed to prevent any further

attempts to burn the town." In August, 1855, a man was caught attempting to set fire to a Mr. Harrell's house and he was severely handled and "run out of town." On June 2, 1858, there was record of an attempt to set fire to the new bank. A barrel of shavings was placed in a closet and set on fire, but was discovered before any serious damage could be done. "The object was plunder and confusion."

Carrying knives and firearms was common practice in the early West and the careless and reckless use of guns was a real problem in Cairo and there are numerous references to it in the press. The town was awakened on numerous occasions by the firing of guns on the levee and in the streets. The matter became so serious that on December 12, 1855, it was announced that the City Council had passed an ordinance to the effect "that any person who would explode powder after it had been poured into a gun, pistol, or other fire arms within the corporate limits of Cairo should be fined not less than three and not more than ten dollars." The next week attention was called to the ordinance and to the fact that it was not being enforced. "We presume," commented the editor, "that the offenders have not read the ordinance. We call attention to it." There are numerous references to violators appearing before the police court or the justice of the peace and paying for the violation of the firearms ordinance.<sup>34</sup>

Counterfeiting was very commonly practiced in frontier areas and Cairo was no exception. Early in 1849 a man by the name of Stratton from Kentucky was caught attempting to pass counterfeit half dollars on a recently arrived flatboatman. When arrested he was carrying counterfeit bills as well as coin. He was examined by Justice Shannessy and being unable to furnish bail set at two hundred fifty dollars was sent to the County Jail at Thebes. It was reported that he was probably receiving his money from St. Louis and seemed to be specializing in fifty cent pieces. The public was warned to be on the watch for such coins as they were smoother and lighter in weight than genuine ones. At about the same time several others were arrested in Cairo for counterfeiting, two men by the names of Dorras and Kelly being held for having counterfeit five dollar bills in their possession. Dorras was able to put up bail but Kelly was sent to jail at Thebes.<sup>35</sup> Notices appear in the

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, December 12 and 19, 1855.

<sup>35</sup> Prior to the passage of the National Banking Act of 1863, lax state banking laws tended to encourage the counterfeiting of local bank notes. Stratton as well as Dorras and Kelly, later arrested in Cairo



local press from time to time requesting the public to be on the alert for "bad money."<sup>36</sup>

Cairo also had its pickpockets. On December 16, 1855, a man "calling himself a doctor" was caught in the act of picking a boy's pockets at National Hall and was severely flogged. On June 17, 1857, it was reported that the preceeding Sunday night a citizen of Cairo "who should have known better," was robbed of a fine gold watch by a pickpocket. "It was performed with such dexterity," observed the editor, "that although there were ten or fifteen persons standing around, not one of them saw the performance."<sup>37</sup>

While there was doubtless prostitution in Cairo during the period, no mention of houses is in the press. There were a good many transient women of loose morals passing through town, some of whom were put off steamboats. Numerous announcements appeared in the press of drunken fights in which women were involved and the major concern of the local police was to get them out of town as soon as possible. Early in May, 1855, "a Nymph de Pave, one of the gay habitues of Perdido Street" was picked up by a member of the day police for traipsing around in male attire. The magistrate let her off on condition that she leave town. The following December it was reported that "an incontinent, undignified and unchastened woman made the night hideous with her ravings the week before." She had been put off a steamboat and wandered up and down the levee, "cussing and abusing the Captain." In February, 1856, a man by the name of Wood attempted to rape a young girl and was severely whipped by the father. "The culprit," according to the editor, "received the longest and the most severe cowhiding he had ever witnessed." In January, 1858, Amanda Myers accused a man of rape and the justice of the peace after hearing the evidence found her guilty of adultery.<sup>38</sup>

There was some concern on the part of the stable citizens of Cairo regarding the proper observance of the Sabbath. There were serious objections expressed to places of business being open on Sunday, especially saloons. On March 28, 1855, the editor requested that the trustees of the town take adequate steps to pass an or-

for the offence, were each carrying notes on the Bank of Louisville. Coins were passed more easily. Stratton and Kelly broke jail at Thebes in early June; *Cairo Delta*, June 7, 1849.

<sup>36</sup> *Cairo Delta*, February 1, 8, and 15, 1849; *Cairo Sun*, December 4 and 18, 1851.

<sup>37</sup> *Cairo Weekly Times and Delta*, June 17, 1857.

<sup>38</sup> Data for this paragraph were found in the *Weekly Times and Delta* of May 5 and December 19, 1855, February 13, 1856, and January 13, 1858.

dinance requiring a better observance of the Sabbath. He closed his remarks with a warning: "In our opinion, if the people of Cairo ever expect to arrive at any degree of prosperity, they must first deserve it by the strict observance of the laws of morality, and more especially, the observance of the Sabbath."

In April, 1855, there was another appeal for an ordinance, after the matter had been proposed in the board and voted down. "Let them grind out a Sunday Ordinance," commented the editor, "the keeping open of business houses on Sunday is an insult to the moral sentiments of every man who has any regard for the ordinances of a higher power than our board of trustees." An ordinance was eventually passed, and when a police force was established with a police court, the records indicate numerous arrests and fines for Sabbath violations.<sup>39</sup>

While about every possible type of crime found on the frontier is in evidence in Cairo, there are a few examples of crimes and offenses unique enough to be worthy of special mention. There are several instances of the "old panel game" being worked successfully.<sup>40</sup> On December 18, 1851, the *Sun* printed a warning to immigrants not to purchase duplicate public land receipts without checking with the government land office as to whether or not they were fraudulent. On April 2, 1856, the editor reported seeing a "sorrowful looking man walking up town with a large iron poker in his hand." He had been assaulted on a steamboat and was looking for a magistrate "taking the poker with him as evidence." Just prior to the February 6, 1856, edition, a fifty dollar diamond pin was to have been raffled off at a gathering in National Hall. While the pin was being circulated or inspection it disappeared and although the doors were locked and everybody searched the pin was not found.

In the spring of 1851 there occurred a crime in the Cairo area which was claimed by the editor, who had seen about everything, to have been "the richest piece of villainy ever executed in these diggings."<sup>41</sup> When two men in a wagon a couple of miles from

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, April 18, 1855 and June 10, 1857. Four persons were fined for drunkenness the Sunday after the ordinance passed. One man left his carpetbag as part payment of his fine. On April 9, 1865, Police Robert Yost fined one James Ritchie the maximum twenty-five dollars for a Sunday spree and for going to church to make a noise.

<sup>40</sup> This crime, common in hotels and taverns in the West, called for movable panels placed in closets of various sleeping rooms, which gave access to the patron's pockets or clothing while he slept or entertained females of the establishment.

<sup>41</sup> See the *Cairo Sun*, May 1, 1851, for this account.



Jonesboro in Union County asked a farmer who the "heaviest" merchant was there, he mentioned the name of a Mr. Dishon. Driving their wagon to Dishon's store they requested permission to place a large box they had in their wagon in the store that night for safe keeping. After offering some objections to the suggestion, the merchant finally agreed, and the box was placed in the store room.

They put up for the night at the local tavern, appearing bright and early the next morning for their box. The proprietor was a bit worried as he had noticed a bolt of his best broadcloth missing from one of his counters that morning and upon examining his desk found that a considerable amount of money was also missing. He refused to allow the box to be taken from the store until it had been examined. When the owners offered strenuous objections he forced them into the store room at the point of a gun and locked them in. He found another man inside the box with the broadcloth and the missing money. The man inside turned states evidence and told the local authorities how they had been traveling through the country operating the trick quite successfully. He claimed that he had attempted to withdraw from the activity but had not been allowed to do so. The two men were jailed and later found guilty of fraud.

In the same edition of the *Cairo Sun* is found a new version of the more or less trite "half man, half alligator" harangue often reported in the rough river towns of the West. Late in April, 1851, Cairo was visited by a very singular person, who according to the local editor, "had a voice as loud as thunder and as terrifying as the roar of an angry lion." His conversation was recorded as follows:

I am a hippopotamus, a man killer, or a wild man of the woods, just as the occasion requires. I was in all of the battles of the Mexican War, and after the war was over whipped every man in my company, and sent home to the wife of the company commander a one-eyed husband.

When a bystander remarked that he had more of the qualities of a polecat about him than any other animal, he loudly replied: "Look'e here, you goose-livered, pumpkin-headed Yankee. Just give me a spelling book and six white peas and I can make forty better Yankees than ever sold wooden nutmegs or stole cedar timber." The bystander, somewhat taken aback, slipped into the rapidly gathering crowd and disappeared.

This so-called "man of the woods" wandered into a telegraph office and was not inclined to believe the operator who informed

him that he could get a message to his sister in Dubuque, Iowa, in about three minutes. Turning to him, livid with rage and "thirsty for the blood of anyone" who would attempt to fool him he said: "Now I'll tell you square, I'm thirty-five years old—have seen steamboats, railroads and balloons—have been to Mexico—and have seen the elephant<sup>42</sup>—have traveled over thirteen states and whipped and sucked the blood of many a man, and if I don't maul you right here you'll be the first critter that ever rode over me, that's all." He pulled off his coat and was adjusting his suspenders around his waist in readiness for the fray, when the telegraph operator departed by way of the back door. When last seen this "man of the woods" was standing straight up in a little rickety canoe, desperately paddling down the Mississippi for the low ground of Tennessee.

Although there was much turbulence and violence in the river town of Cairo in the period under consideration, ample evidence reveals a stable and permanent citizenry gravely concerned about lawlessness. Citizens succeeded within a few years in building a much needed jail, in organizing a police force and in setting up a court of common pleas. Prior to that time they did not hesitate to take matters into their own hands as "regulators" or vigilance groups for the purpose of administering "Cairo Justice" with a considerable degree of success. The first objective upon which they worked was that of building themselves a jail.

In the first issues of the *Cairo Delta* in the spring of 1848, the editor, A. H. Sanders, shows considerable concern over the lack of a jail in town and the fact that the "not any too effective" county jail was some forty miles up the Mississippi River.<sup>43</sup> On October 19, 1848, after announcing that several prisoners had just escaped from the county jail at Thebes by digging under the wall, probably with some outside help, he briefly but effectively sums up the case thus:

It is a notorious fact that notwithstanding the number of rascals committed for the perpetration of crime in this county, *not one*, within the remembrance of citizens of several years residence here, has been punished. The rogue knows that judging by the past, if arrested here for any crime he stands a very good chance of escaping on his way to jail, and a still better one of getting away after he is in jail. We have no jail here even for the confinement of individuals for a few hours, till they can appear

<sup>42</sup> "Seeing the elephant," a common western phrase popular especially in mining camps, was a boast meaning "I have been around and have seen everything."

<sup>43</sup> Thebes, county seat of Alexander County, had at the time several stores, a good tavern, about 75 dwellings, a courthouse, jail and other county buildings, and about 350 inhabitants; *Cairo Sun*, May 15, 1851.

before a magistrate. . . . Delay and escape seem to save expenses. The rogue is more secure and is less liable to punishment than the respectable citizens. We want in Cairo a jail or calaboose of some kind.

The situation was so serious that early in February, 1849, a meeting was called at the Cairo Hotel for the purpose of devising some means of getting rid of certain undesirable characters and uniting in some general action to protect the persons and property of citizens. A large assembly attended and Mr. Corcoran was called to the chair, who appointed A. H. Sanders, O. S. Sayre and J. T. Smith as a committee to prepare a series of resolutions. They expressed "determination to take vigorous action against all rogues detected in their knavery and a desire to wipe out prejudices operating against Cairo." A committee was authorized to draft a petition to the state legislature asking that the citizens of Cairo be granted the privilege of erecting a jail. Since the legislature was about to adjourn there seemed little hope of action at this session. "But if no other object was affected," commented the editor, "it was in letting the rogues know that hereafter they may expect no quarter in Cairo."

No action had been taken regarding a jail by June, 14, 1854, when the editor of the *Times and Delta* asked: "Is there any law in Cairo? This question is frequently asked without eliciting an answer. Oh! for a sheriff or a constable." On October 11 he argued: "The next improvement needed here is a jail, as straggling vagabonds from various points up and down the river are continually stopping here, who need the comfort of a wholesome diet in the shape of bread and water administered at the expense of the county." Agitation continued until on January 30, 1856, about which time the town trustees announced a bond issue, the sale of twenty-eight corporate bonds for twenty-five dollars each bearing interest at six percent per annum. The money was to be used in constructing a jail. The editor on February 6 was highly pleased with the action.

"We shall soon have a structure of sufficient strength and capacity to hold the Paducah editors, and all other wretches who visit Cairo upon piratical excursions. The funds for building the said lockup, are already subscribed, and the work will be commenced immediately. We wish the enterprise a hearty god speed."<sup>44</sup>

<sup>44</sup> The Cairo editors were no whit behind other town editors in the virtue of civic pride, defending Cairo as healthful, moral and respectable. As indicated below, the Paducah editors received scathing rebukes for their outspoken criticism of the violence and lawlessness of Cairo.

Of the two bids submitted by February 20, 1856, Mr. Aubrey's bid of eleven hundred fifty dollars for building the structure was chosen.<sup>45</sup> About three months later the jail, sixteen by twenty-four feet and two stories high, was complete except for the door. "We hope it will be ready soon," wrote the editor, "and that all the levee rats who lie around loose o'nights may be provided with comfortable lodgings therein—it's a shame that they should be allowed to lay out on the ground so promiscuously." From this time on little reference is made to it in the local press.

The establishment of a court of common pleas was the watchword throughout the early fifties, but no action was taken to secure one. Small was the hope for crime abatement "without an organized police force, the establishment of a court, and a necessary appendage, a jail." A week after authorizing the "appendage" the town trustees signified their willingness for a common pleas court and so petitioned the governor. Then arose concern over the selection of a judge and prosecuting attorney. Rumor named I. N. Haynie for judge and William K. Parrish for attorney, but the editor suggested John A. Logan as "desirable and acceptable" for the latter position. "He is a man in a thousand and we know that we speak the mind of a large number of our citizens when we ask John A. Logan to bring his clear intellect and strong mind among us. . . If we cannot get good men, let us bide our time." However, neither was chosen; H. Watson became prosecuting attorney, and Haynie the judge. The first session was scheduled for Monday, April 14, 1856.

The grand jury session adjourned on April 11, 1856, having found fifty-one indictments, thirty of which were for selling liquor without license and "Sunday Tippling." In this regard the editor said:

The good effects of the sitting of the Grand Jury in the City of Cairo was visible last Sunday. Heretofore liquor establishments have been kept open and liquor has been sold on Sunday the same as if there had been no law against it. The proprietors of such establishments will be held to strict accountability for all such violations of the law. Hard drinkers will bear in mind that they cannot purchase spirits in town on Sunday, and will be compelled to lay in a stock on Saturday night to take them through.<sup>46</sup>

The Court of Common Pleas was scheduled to meet on July 7, 1856, with a docket of thirty-six civil cases and forty-nine criminal cases.

<sup>45</sup> The account of the progress of the building and all of its specifications can be followed in the *Weekly Times and Delta* for January 30, February 6, and 20, and May 14, 1856.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, April 9 and 16, 1856.



In the April session in 1857 there were 117 cases on the docket, 28 of which were criminal offenses. There can be no doubt but what the Court of Common Pleas functioned definitely as a deterrent to crime and lawlessness.<sup>47</sup>

A police force was slow in taking form in Cairo and the earlier justice of the peace and constable system was not able to cope successfully with crime and law violations. Prior to the creation of a police force and even afterwards the stable and responsible citizens of the settlement assumed the police role as vigilantes and regulators. "Cairo Justice" as they called it was administered on many occasions with a considerable degree of success.

The editor of the *Delta* in September, 1849, in reporting several cases of theft and robbery indicated that several of the culprits had been beaten and "run out of town." "When our place is infested with so many persons without any apparent means of livelihood," he observed, "it behooves our citizens to be on the lookout," When a delegation of thieves and pickpockets was landed in Cairo in the spring of 1855, "a sharp lookout was kept on them and their booty didn't amount to a row of pins."<sup>48</sup>

A Mr. B. S. Harrell ran a card of thanks in the local press in September, 1855, to his numerous friends "who so kindly sham-pooed, [head shaved] tarred and feathered and set adrift on a log, a loafer "who attempted to set fire to his house on the night of August 14. He offered his friends refreshments at his expense at the Carcade. The editor was of the opinion that the "scamp should have been lynched." A week later a thief who had taken certain goods was warned that his identity was known and if he did not return what he had stolen "he would dance at the end of a rope." Early in November, 1855, a scamp who in the words of the editor "had descended to such a depth of meanness as to steal a nigger's money," was taken to the river by a committee of citizens, and "soused in the Ohio," as much as he could bear and sent across to the Kentucky side "the Botany Bay for Cairo Rogues." "Whatever may be said about mob law," observed the editor, "we consider it perfectly justifiable in this case. The crime was fully proven on the man; he is known as a thief and scoundrel and he could not be convinced on a Negro's testimony." The episode ap-

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, July 2 and 16, 1856; April 8, 1857; January 13 1858. The City of Cairo established a series of fines in March 1857, for gambling, drunkenness, fighting, gun firing, keeping a house of ill fame, vagabondage, selling impure foods, using false weights in selling, and cruelty to animals; *Ibid.*, March 25, 1857.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, September 6 and 15, 1849, and March 21, 1855.

parently had caused some suspicious characters to leave town. A few weeks later when a gambler was dragged in the water with a rope until he was "nearly dead" the editor justified the action by saying: "There is no jail in Cairo and no court and since all criminals sent to Thebes escape we are obliged to take the law in our own hands, and will do so when necessary."<sup>49</sup>

The numerous examples of the administration of "Cairo Justice" seem to have had the full approval of the community. Agitation for an organized police force continued and in the spring of 1855 when a number of fires occurred that were incendiary in origin causing some ten thousand dollars in losses not covered by insurance the editor pled for an organized police force: "A night police is very much needed to prevent further attempts to burn the town and we are glad to see that our citizens are taking a proper view of the matter. We hope at the next meeting of the trustees, they will take some steps toward carrying out the views of the people in this respect."<sup>50</sup> In August although nothing definitely had been done the citizens of the town were still working on police protection, but the editor could only plead and threaten. "Such an institution is very much needed and hereafter thieves and incendiaries had better keep their eyes open."<sup>51</sup> When no positive action had been taken by January 30, 1856, the editor used a more forceful argument in his summary of the situation:

Frequent inquiries are made of us as to whether or not we have any police force in Cairo. We regret to say that we are always compelled to answer in the negative. Many persons who wish to locate here are afraid to do so, on account of the lawlessness of those, who from varied circumstances are compelled to stop here, or do so of their own accord. That there is a set of blackguards and thieves constantly lounging around Cairo, cannot be denied, but they constitute no portion of our population. There are many cases in which the people are compelled to take hold of an offender and deal out what is sometimes called 'Cairo Justice' or turn him loose to commit further depredations upon the community.

Conditions were so bad in Cairo in February 1856, that the citizens met at G. W. Readon's office on the levee, for the purpose of organizing a volunteer police force. C. D. Finch was called to the chair and Edward Willett was appointed secretary. Resolutions were passed, declaring that the disorderly condition of affairs in and around Cairo called for the active interference of the citizens, and it was recommended that they organize themselves into

<sup>49</sup> For the data in this paragraph see *Ibid.*, September 19 and 26, and November 7 and 21, 1855.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, May 2, 1855.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, August 22, 1855.



a patrol of forty-eight men, twenty-four to be on guard each night. The requisite number immediately volunteered, and R. H. Baird and H. M. Butts were chosen as captains of the two companies. The arrangement was to be temporary. In one week the plan was reported to be working "admirably thus far." "The town has been quiet as a mouse," wrote the editor after two weeks "and quiet as a claret-colored cat with a red ribbon around its neck, and no bells on its toes." On Monday February 24 a subscription of some two hundred dollars was collected from interested citizens for the purpose of employing five policemen for the town as long as the money lasted. Those who contributed were allowed to vote for the policemen that were to be assigned.<sup>52</sup>

In December, 1857, the City Council passed Ordinance 58 which officially created a town police force. There were to be six watchmen to patrol the city from 7 p.m. to 6 a.m. The captain was to receive fifty dollars per month and the other five forty, with certain fees being allowed for arrests. The editor hoped that "the men would be delighted in the pursuit of their duties, and succeed in bringing to punishment those midnight marauders who have for some time past been entering the houses of our citizens with impunity."<sup>53</sup>

The police force, the court, the jail became the façade of the structure of justice and law in Cairo, a symbol of security to the citizens. However, the chief problem in the crime-control plan stemmed from the location of the city at the crossroads of a flourishing river traffic, where transients and temporary laborers paused for their moments of lawlessness. Thieves, robbers, gamblers and swindlers continued to come and go, while brawling and drunkenness continued to blight the lives of the people whose pride was their home town. The parasites and their activities were particularly obnoxious to the editor who may well have been disappointed with the results of new agencies of the law, whose establishment he had so long championed. This often-mentioned editor was A. H. Sanders, who took up his residence in Cairo in early 1848. He had outlined the plan of his crusade in the *Cairo Delta* in his opening editorial. He spent his years defending the town, as he had promised, against those who branded it as lawless, "dissipating the prejudices that existed against it." Moreover, he constantly promoted it as a clean, moral, and healthy place to live. Now, after ten years, affairs seemed to become worse. On February 17, 1858,

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, February 20 and 27, 1856.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, December 9, 1857.

fight were occurring nightly, although, he indicated, the place was quiet in comparison to what it had been "owing to the wholesome laws which have been enacted by the city Fathers." When rowdiness continued he complained on March 3 that the night watchmen were not in the right place at the right time. A fortnight later he reported the spring fights to have "opened brilliantly," and hoped that they would soon be under control. They were actually worse when he suggested on April 7 the formation of a vigilante committee, and lawlessness was so rampant that in despair he proposed a "chain gang" as a last resort, on June 2:

Our town for the past four or five months seems to have been the grand rendezvous for all the watchstaffers, pickpockets, thieves and vagabonds generally. . . . We want the Common Council to pass an act establishing a ball and chain gang; then go to work and arrest every one of those hang-dog loafers under the vagrant law, which at present is a dead letter, because all vags. arrested under it must be supported by the town. Put a ball and chain on their legs and set them to work—there is plenty of work for them to do such as digging ditches, patching the streets, and smashing rock on the levee. We think such a law should have the effect of cleaning the town of these pests and unless something is done and speedily, the citizens as a matter of self protection will be compelled to take the law into their own hands, and when they do, there will be a clean sweep.

While these events were taking place in Cairo, the settlement was at the same time growing into a thriving western river town. It was developing such stable cultural institutions as the church, public and private schools, the theatre, as well as dependable economic and social groups. These aspects of Cairo society and life must be considered if our account is to be properly balanced. However, it must also be kept in mind that the record of lawlessness and crime comes from local editors who in the main were inclined to "puff" their town rather than criticize it and were ever on the defensive as to its merits and advantages. It is probably fair to say that while all river towns were inclined to be rough and lawless during the thriving steamboat and flatboat days, Cairo because of its location at the confluence of the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers offered more opportunity for crime and disorder than did the average river settlement. The evidence available leads to the inevitable conclusion that during the decade from 1848 to 1858 Cairo, Illinois, was a turbulent and unruly place and lawlessness was a serious problem.

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## "Visiting Statesman" in Louisiana 1876

In 1876 the Democrats looked forward to their first presidential triumph in twenty years. How could they fail when it was clear that the nation was tired of Republican misrule and Grantism? The public still remembered the malodorous attempt of Jim Fisk and Jay Gould to corner the gold market, an effort that the government almost failed to block, and which seemed to point to ineptitude or worse in the administration. Also, too recent to be forgotten entirely, were the flagrantly corrupt doings of many high ranking politicians in the Whiskey Ring and the Credit Mobilier affairs.

The Democratic candidate was the renowned, if colorless, Samuel J. Tilden, a reformer in New York politics, who had made a name for himself as an honest and able public servant. It was true that Tilden was opposed by Rutherford B. Hayes of Ohio—himself honest and no spoilsman, but then he was not so well known and had to bear the burden of eight years of Grant's deeds of omission and commission.<sup>1</sup> And many former Republicans of prominence had used the Liberal Republicans' movement as a bridge, whereby they passed from the Republican party to the Democratic ranks.<sup>2</sup> For all practical purposes some of the Liberals, like Carl Schurz, were once more back in the Republican fold.<sup>3</sup> Still the Democratic gains had been considerable. With the South largely again under white control and with many areas of the North dissatisfied with their Republican rule, Democratic success seemed now at hand.

Bitter and hard fought was the campaign in 1876. The Democrats tried to focus attention upon the frauds and corruption under

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<sup>1</sup> Edward Stanwood, *A History of the Presidency from 1788 to 1897*, New York, 1898, 374-380; J. G. Randall, *The Civil War and Reconstruction*, Boston, 1937, 359, 361, 363; See also P. L. Haworth, *The Hayes-Tilden Disputed Election of 1876*, Cleveland, 1906, and Alexander Clarence Flick, *Samuel Jones Tilden: A Study in Political Sagacity*, New York, 1939.

<sup>2</sup> These new recruits to the Democratic ranks included many men who had been leaders in the Republican party such as John M. Palmer, Lyman Trumbull, and Gustave Koerner of Illinois, George W. Julian of Indiana, and A. G. Curtin of Pennsylvania.

<sup>3</sup> Thomas J. McCormack, ed., *Memoirs of Gustave Koerner, 1809-1896: Life-Sketches Written at the Suggestion of His Children*, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1909, II, pp. 599-602.

Grant; whereas, the Republicans did not confine themselves to a defense of their record, but pointed with pride to their party as the one which had saved the Union. Particularly they appealed to Union veterans to "vote as they shot."<sup>4</sup>

Late in the evening of election day the Democrats appeared to have triumphed in many Northern states and apparently the entire South. However, the Republicans, after a period of confusion, inspired by the stand of the very influential *New York Times*,<sup>5</sup> gradually raised the cry that Hayes had been elected with 185 electoral votes to Tilden's 184. They claimed a majority, because they said Hayes had triumphed in the three doubtful states of Louisiana, Florida, and South Carolina. On the basis of unofficial returns these states had seemed to be carried by the Democrats by small margins. They became crucial, since their 19 electoral votes if given to Hayes would make him the winner; if only one of them went to Tilden, it would mean a Democratic triumph. The situation was complicated by a dispute over one elector in Oregon. This Republican elector had been chosen by the people, but his opponents claimed he was ineligible, as he was a postmaster. Therefore, the Democratic governor considered his election invalid and appointed the next highest elector in the popular vote totals who was a Democrat.<sup>6</sup>

The Democrats, since Tilden had gained a popular plurality of 250,000 votes<sup>7</sup> over Hayes, were hopeful that a way would be found to inaugurate him. The country buzzed with confusion and partisan debate. Tilden, for his part, found time in the next few hectic weeks to hold conferences with his political lieutenants to consider the possible composition of his cabinet.<sup>8</sup>

The election of 1876 thus became entangled with the remnant of political reconstruction. Three Southern states were in dispute—Florida, Louisiana, and South Carolina. All were under carpetbag rule. The Republican machines in each state, opposed to the body of the Southern white population, had created an extremely confused situation. Though all three states were soon to overthrow these precarious Radical governments, they still lasted long enough

<sup>4</sup> Flick, *Tilden*, 300–321; Randall, *The Civil War and Reconstruction*, 861.

<sup>5</sup> *New York Times*, November 8, 1876–November 12, 1876.

<sup>6</sup> H. J. Eckenrode, *Rutherford B. Hayes, Statesman of Reunion*, New York, 1930, 178–185; Flick, *Tilden*, 334.

<sup>7</sup> Stanwood, *The History of the Presidency*, 383.

<sup>8</sup> Earle Dudley Ross, *The Liberal Republican Movement*, New York, 1919, 236; John Bigelow, *Retrospections of an Active Life*, New York, 1909–13, V, p. 299.

to certify the Hayes electors. The device used to disqualify enough popular votes to elect the Republican electors was the returning board. This piece of electoral machinery had been set up under the authority of state law, and had the function of reviewing election results and rejecting votes in districts in which its members believed intimidation or other unfair practices had been used.<sup>9</sup>

Within a few days after the election it was seen that the outcome hinged on these three Southern states, and that their returning boards would decide which set of electors had been chosen; therefore, Abram S. Hewitt, Democratic national chairman, asked various prominent Northern Democrats to go South and witness the count.<sup>10</sup> President Grant in his turn requested certain noted Republicans from the North to do the same.<sup>11</sup> These groups had no official status within the states and were a species of lobbyists.

Of the three Southern states the situation was probably most confused in Louisiana. The turmoil and disorder in that state dated from the election four years earlier in 1872. In that year an anti-Grant faction of the Republicans had joined forces with the regular Democrats to support a fusion candidate, John McEnery, for governor. The Radical Republicans backed a pro-Grant candidate, William P. Kellogg. At the election in that year McEnery seemed to have won by about 10,000 votes. The state returning board certified the election of the McEnery ticket, but the Kellogg faction having failed to gain control of the board, set up their own board which refused to be embarrassed by the fact that it did not possess a single return from any one of the state's polls, and went right ahead and fabricated a set of returns which it claimed to be the results of the election. By this means Kellogg, a majority of the Republican candidates for the legislature, and the Republican slate of presidential electors were declared elected. Naturally the Democrats refused to recognize this action. There ensued a period of deadlock. Congress refused to act; therefore, President Grant stepped into the picture and supported the Kellogg faction, refusing to consider any protest from the McEnery group.<sup>12</sup>

Now the events in Louisiana became even more confused. The Democrats and the dissident Republicans denied recognition to

<sup>9</sup> Randall, *The Civil War and Reconstruction*, 865; Flick, *Tilden*, 334, 337.

<sup>10</sup> *Chicago Times*, November 11, 1876.

<sup>11</sup> *New York Times*, November 13, 1876.

<sup>12</sup> Henry C. Warmoth, *War, Politics and Reconstruction*, New York, 1930, 206-219; Fanny Z. Lovell Bone, "Louisiana in the Disputed Election of 1876," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, XIV (1931), part 1, 408-440.



Kellogg, who was only put in power by the bayonets of Federal troops. If Grant had only refused to use the army, it seems likely that the Kellogg faction would have been overturned by the Democrats. Peace then might have been restored, since, as nearly as can be determined, McEnery was the popular choice, and the miserable uncertainty and confusion of 1876 might never have occurred.

There was a widespread defiance of the Kellogg government; disorder became so intense as to approach civil war in certain areas of the state. Blame for the chaos, of course, was fastened by one group upon the other. It was in this atmosphere that the election of 1876 was held, the election seeming to result in a Democratic victory in Louisiana. Instantly the Republicans raised the cry that white intimidation had been widespread.<sup>13</sup> The *New Orleans Republican*, the official newspaper of the party in that state, urged Republicans to stand firm and not concede defeat. William P. Kellogg sent a dispatch North in which he claimed a Republican victory because of Democratic intimidation in the five hotly contested parishes of West Feliciana, East Feliciana, East Baton Rouge, Moorehouse, and Ouachita.<sup>14</sup>

This was the situation in Louisiana, which the "visiting statesmen," as they came to be called, were to find upon their arrival. Among the Northern Democrats invited to New Orleans to watch the count in Louisiana were ex-senator Lyman Trumbull and ex-governor John M. Palmer of Illinois, A. G. Curtin of Pennsylvania, and Judge J. R. Stallo of Cincinnati.<sup>15</sup>

The Republicans were likewise an imposing group, headed by John Sherman of Ohio. He did not relish going down to Louisiana, put it off as long as he could,<sup>16</sup> and then went only reluctantly. Expressing his sentiment in a letter to his wife he remarked, "Grant in 8 years did not remember my existence until he had this most uncomfortable task to perform and then by his selection forced me to come."<sup>17</sup>

Upon their arrival the visiting Democrats at once announced that the Tilden electors and the local Democratic ticket had triumphed. They met in consultation, but could agree on no plan of

<sup>13</sup> Randall, *The Civil War and Reconstruction*, 368-369.

<sup>14</sup> Bone, "Louisiana in the Disputed Election," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, XV (1932), part 3, 107.

<sup>15</sup> *New York Times*, November 12, 1876.

<sup>16</sup> John Sherman to C. J. Wright, Mansfield, Ohio, November 12, 1876, Sherman MSS., Library of Congress.

<sup>17</sup> John Sherman to Cecilia Sherman, New Orleans, November 16, 1876, Sherman MSS.

action and ended by awaiting further reinforcements from the North.<sup>18</sup> Later, when their number was augmented by several latecomers, they met in conference with the Louisiana Democratic state committee.<sup>19</sup> A plan of action was formulated. John M. Palmer was elected chairman of the visiting Northern Democrats, and he called upon the four Republicans who composed the Louisiana state returning board. They did little to reassure him concerning either their honesty or their good intentions.<sup>20</sup> His fears of the partisan attitude of the returning board members were shared by the local Democrats.<sup>21</sup> The four board members were J. M. Wells and T. C. Anderson, white men of unsavory reputations, and L. M. Kenner and G. Casanave, colored men of no exalted moral standing.<sup>22</sup> There were no Democratic members on the board. In 1874 the last Democrat to sit in that body had resigned and no one had been appointed to take his place, in spite of the provisions of the state law which stipulated that the Democrats be represented on the board. Some of the board members attempted to explain this situation, claiming that by the resignation of the last Democrat that party had forfeited its right to representation. Despite protests from the Democrats<sup>23</sup> and even from the Northern Republicans, the vacancy was never filled.<sup>24</sup>

Next, the Northern Democrats sent an offer to the visiting Republicans to arrange a conference looking toward cooperation between the two groups.<sup>25</sup> This Democratic request was turned down by Sherman acting as chairman for the Republicans. He claimed that they were visiting Louisiana only as individuals and had no authority to act as a group.<sup>26</sup> Indignantly the Democrats replied that should the Louisiana returning board discharge its duty in a partisan manner, so as to create discontent, "we shall have the satisfaction of knowing that while you (the Republicans) have taken the responsibility of declining to act with us, we have done all in our power to avert the consequences which may follow."<sup>27</sup>

<sup>18</sup> New York Times, November 14, 1876.

<sup>19</sup> New Orleans Times, November 14, 1876.

<sup>20</sup> John M. Palmer, *Personal Recollections of John M. Palmer: The Story of an Earnest Life*, Cincinnati, 1901, 397.

<sup>21</sup> New Orleans Times, November 12, 1876, November 13, 1876.

<sup>22</sup> Flick, Tilden, 337.

<sup>23</sup> Palmer, *Personal Recollections*, 397-399.

<sup>24</sup> Robert S. Smith to Sherman, Columbus, Ohio, November 27, 1876, Sherman MSS.

<sup>25</sup> New York Times, November 15, 1876.

<sup>26</sup> John Sherman to Cecelia Sherman, New Orleans, November 16, 1876, Sherman MSS.

<sup>27</sup> New York Times, November 18, 1876.

Perhaps with this exchange of views as a spur the returning board invited five members of the "visiting statesmen" of both parties to attend its sessions. The two groups of "visiting statesmen" met and agreed that ten of their number should stay and view the board's proceedings while the remainder were almost without exception glad to escape back to the North and their own private businesses, leaving the complicated tangle in Louisiana to be worked out by their representatives.<sup>28</sup>

Many Democrats had already despaired of obtaining justice from the board. For example, the *New Orleans Times* said that there was faint hope of getting a fair and impartial decision from "those whom the law has called upon to decide . . . , one is an undertaker, a second an uneducated colored man, and the two others have abilities which do not rise above those of an average politician. . . ." <sup>29</sup> But all of them did not feel this way. Lyman Trumbull, chosen as one of the five Democrats to observe the board's sessions, writing to his son, Walter, just before the returning board began to canvass the votes, remarked:

I do not myself despair of a reasonably fair count in this state. We shall have it if we carry Florida, and, even if the presidency hangs on the result here, I do not see how without committing such palpable injustice and wrong as will take from the decision all weight before the country, the returning board, even if so disposed, can commit any great inequity in the presence of the committees.<sup>30</sup>

Other prominent Democrats on the five man committee were John M. Palmer and G. W. Julian. Besides John Sherman, among other Republicans invited to watch the board's proceedings was James A. Garfield.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>28</sup> *New Orleans Times*, November 23, 1876, *New York Times*, November 21, 1876.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, November 14, 1876.

<sup>30</sup> *Chicago Times*, November 23, 1876.

<sup>31</sup> *New York Times*, November 21, 1876. In the July, 1949, issue (which appeared recently) of the *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, pages 631-717, there is an article by Marguerite T. Leach, a printing of a master's thesis written in 1933 at the Louisiana State University, which on page 637 gives a misleading list of "visiting statesmen." The article implies that the list of men which it gives actually watched the proceedings of the returning board. The list is based upon Fortier's, *History of Louisiana*, IV, 181, published in 1904. It contains the names of men such as William R. Morrison and Samuel J. Randall, Democrats, as well as a Republican, Lew Wallace, who never tarried long in Louisiana. Although there were some substitutions in the personnel of the five "visiting statesmen" for each party, particularly for the Republicans who actually witnessed the proceedings of the returning board, many of the men listed by Leach never sat in on a board session. See the *New York Times*, November 21, 1876, and the following two weeks for the shifting personnel at each session. The Republican report to President U. S.

It was agreed that none but members of the board were to examine returns, but that witnesses would be present when the packages of the votes were unsealed. Also it was decided that lawyers representing the two parties should be called in only when questions of contest arose, and that when the board went into an executive session all other persons but the members of the two committees were to be excluded from the room.<sup>32</sup>

First the board disposed of the parishes where there were no contests, while both sides prepared their arguments and testimony regarding the disputed districts.<sup>33</sup> This was a period of dullness when there was not much for the "visiting statesmen" to do. John Sherman in a letter stated that there was "little intercourse between men of opposite parties. I have not been called on by a single Democrat in this city except Gon. Gibson. . . ."<sup>34</sup> While this may have been true as regards the visiting Republicans and the local Democrats, apparently the two groups of "visiting statesmen" were not aloof. Henry Watterson, who was present for a time as one of the statesmen representing the Northern Democrats, said that "A certain degree of personal intimacy existed between the members of the two groups, and the 'entente' was quite as unrestrained as might have existed between rival athletic teams."<sup>35</sup>

When a Kentucky admirer sent Watterson some whiskey, he split it with his Republican rivals. Also he described what he termed as his "friendly" relations with both Sherman and Garfield, with whom he had had a long acquaintanceship. Watterson was also friendly with Stanley Matthews; another of the Republicans was related to him by marriage and had been practically an elder brother since his boyhood.<sup>36</sup> However, it is doubtful if such Republican apostates as Trumbull, Palmer, and Julian felt so close to the Republican group.

Grant made by the Republican statesmen was signed by nine men who stayed to the end or had attended some of the board sessions. They were John Sherman, E. W. Stoughton, J. H. Van Alen, Eugene Hale, J. A. Garfield, Cortland Parker, W. J. Kelly, Sidney Clark, and J. C. Wilson as printed in the *New Orleans Times*, December 7, 1876. The Democrats who signed the final report to Abram S. Hewett of the National Democratic Committee, and who had persevered at New Orleans were John M. Palmer, George B. Smith, William Bigler, George W. Julian, Lyman Trumbull, and P. H. Watson, as listed in the *New Orleans Times*, December 8, 1876.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>34</sup> John Sherman to Cecilia Sherman, New Orleans, November 24, 1876, Sherman MSS.

<sup>35</sup> Henry Watterson, "The Hayes-Tilden Contest for the Presidency: Inside History of a Great Political Crisis," *Century*, LXXXVI (1913), 14.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*

The "visiting statesman," many of whom had never before been to New Orleans, took the time now to visit all the places of interest.<sup>37</sup> Some of the visiting members of both parties attended what was then a famous and infamous feature of New Orleans social life, the Quadroon Ball. When this news leaked out, there were some red faces among the politicians and some hasty explanations.<sup>38</sup>

At this time there was an incident which provided a break to the monotonous tone of the sessions of the board. A reporter for a Democratic paper, who had attended several meetings of the board, had written an article which was sharply critical of the whole proceedings. Lyman Trumbull arose and apologized in behalf of the Democratic "visiting statesmen," saying that they would never have invited a newspaperman to attend the sessions of the board whom they had reason to believe would abuse the courtesies extended to him.<sup>39</sup>

Again the action picked up in the next sessions when three of the most hotly contested parishes' returns were opened. The parishes about whom the fierce controversy raged were East Feliciana, West Feliciana, and Ouachita.<sup>40</sup> At this point the Democratic visitors, led by Lyman Trumbull of Illinois, who had made a reputation as a legal expert and constitutional authority, questioned the returns and various procedural points of the sessions.<sup>41</sup>

The board worked very slowly, dragging out interminably every detail. Growing impatient, the "visiting statesmen," both Republicans and Democrats, asked that the action of the board be expedited as much as possible.<sup>42</sup> Only a week after the opening of the board's sessions, in spite of the extreme slowness with which it worked, Palmer and the other Democrats had seen enough to make them pessimistic as to the chances for the certification of the Democratic electors. Palmer wrote his wife that although "Tilden has about 8000 majority of the popular vote . . . the Hayes electors will get the certificate. . . ."<sup>43</sup>

Rutherford B. Hayes wrote an interesting letter to Sherman at

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>38</sup> *New York Times*, February 10, 1877; *Milwaukee News*, February 21, 1877.

<sup>39</sup> *New Orleans Times*, November 25, 1876.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, November 26, 1876.

<sup>41</sup> *Chicago Times*, November 28, 1876.

<sup>42</sup> John Sherman to Cecilia Sherman, New Orleans, November 25, 1876, Sherman MSS.

<sup>43</sup> John Palmer to Malinda Ann Palmer, New Orleans, November 27, 1876, Palmer MSS., Illinois State Historical Library.



about this time, in which he asked that Sherman not allow his "friends to defeat one outrage and fraud by another."<sup>44</sup> He added that he did not want the presidency unless he could gain it by measures that would "bear the severest scrutiny."<sup>45</sup> Hayes noted that among the visitors for the Democrats there were several recent converts from Republicanism (Palmer, Trumbull, and Julian), and stated that this was a mistake, since "converts are proverbially bitter towards those they have recently left."<sup>46</sup> These were fine words and sentiments, only it appears that Sherman and the Republicans on the spot were not guided by them.

Then a bombshell was thrown into the returning sessions of the board when it was considering instances of intimidation in Ouachita Parish. At that time Eliza Pinkston, a Negress, testified that white Democrats had killed her husband and child, and outraged and mutilated her person all because her husband persisted in the face of warnings and threats to belong to the Republican party. Two of the visiting Democrats, Lyman Trumbull and John M. Palmer, were much impressed with the woman's story which included all manner of lurid details. Both agreed that seldom had they heard anything to equal her tale for sheer horror and wanton cruelty, and urged that the perpetrators of these crimes must be apprehended and punished regardless of political consequences. The Louisiana Democrats were greatly upset by Eliza Pinkston's story, and its ready acceptance on the part of even the Democratic "visiting statesmen."<sup>47</sup> On cross examination the next day the Louisiana Democrats were able to shake Eliza Pinkston's testimony a great deal,<sup>48</sup> and later a congressional committee was able to disprove her story almost completely.<sup>49</sup> But in the meantime great harm had been done to the Democratic cause, as the skillful propagandists of the Republican party played up this incident as a classic instance of Southern intimidation of the Negroes and of the way that Hayes had been deprived of votes in this section.<sup>50</sup>

December 1, the board closed its hearing, and retired to a secret session to determine its decision. The Republican "visiting

<sup>44</sup> Rutherford B. Hayes to Sherman, Columbus, Ohio, November 25, 1876, Sherman MSS.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>47</sup> *New York Times*, November 29, 1876.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, November 30, 1876.

<sup>49</sup> Report of the Democratic majority of a select committee of the House of Representatives in *House Report No. 156*, 44 Congress, 2 Session, part 1, 1-20.

<sup>50</sup> *New York Times*, November 29, 1876, and November 30, 1876.

statesmen" then asked their Democratic counterparts for copies of their party's depositions and the testimony which they had gathered, in order that a complete report might be forwarded to the president. The Democrats refused to cooperate, on the grounds that there were no assurances that the report would ever be published.<sup>51</sup>

The same day the five Democratic "visiting statesmen" issued an address to the people, in which they quoted the figures turned in by the commissioners of election; these returns showed that the Tilden electors had won. The Democrats then went on to express their fears that the returning board would find a way to overturn the will of the people of Louisiana as expressed in the election.<sup>52</sup>

The Republican "visiting statesmen," convinced that all would go well, left soon after the board went into the executive session to make its decision,<sup>53</sup> but the Democratic visitors defiantly stayed on at New Orleans.<sup>54</sup> The Republicans radiated confidence. Zachariah Chandler, the Republican national chairman, wrote at this time, "I have no doubt that the honest vote of . . . Louisiana is for Hayes and anticipate that it will be so declared."<sup>55</sup>

Rumors were rife concerning the decision of the board. Many believed that the Democrats would be able to bribe or otherwise influence enough members of the board so as to enable the electoral vote for Louisiana to be cast for Tilden.<sup>56</sup> That the board members were open to such influence and quite disposed to listen to the side that would make them the best proposition seems on the face of the evidence incontestable. Henry Watterson recounts how a state senator approached him and offered to get the board to certify the Tilden electors if the Democrats would pay \$100,000 to each of the white men on the board and \$25,000 apiece to the colored men.<sup>57</sup> When Watterson failed to take the bait, Wells, the head of the returning board, sent an emissary to New York to contact Abram S. Hewitt, offering to certify the Tilden electors for \$1,000,000. When this offer was not accepted, Wells cut the price to \$200,000, but once more neither Hewitt nor Tilden manifested any interest. The only nibble that Wells got from the

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, December 2, 1876.

<sup>52</sup> *New Orleans Times*, December 3, 1876.

<sup>53</sup> *Chicago Times*, December 2, 1876.

<sup>54</sup> Job E. Stevenson to Sherman, New Orleans, December 4, 1876, Sherman MSS.

<sup>55</sup> Zachariah Chandler to James A. Grace, Washington, December 1, 1876, Chandler MSS., Library of Congress.

<sup>56</sup> *New York Times*, December 2, 1876.

<sup>57</sup> Watterson, "The Hayes-Tilden Contest for the Presidency," *Century*, LXXXVI (1913), p. 14.

Democrats was from Colonel W. T. Pelton, one of Tilden's staff, who engaged in secret unsuccessful negotiations without Tilden's knowledge.<sup>58</sup>

While the Democrats were refusing Wells's overtures, it is evident that he and his confederates were also busy in the other camp. The Sherman papers contain copious correspondence between D. A. Webber and James Anderson on the one hand and John Sherman on the other. Webber and Anderson wrote Sherman as follows:

We have carefully considered the arguments advanced by you in our interview, your assurance that we should be taken care of is scarcely specified enough—In case we pursue the course suggested by you we would be obliged to leave the State—Will you please state in writing who we shall look to for the fulfillment of these promises.<sup>59</sup>

Sherman replied that very day:

Your note of evening date—has just been received—Neither Mr. Hayes—myself, the Gentlemen who accompany me or the country at large, can ever forget the obligations under which you will have placed us if you should stand firm in the position you have taken—From a long and intimate acquaintance with Gov. Hayes—I am justified in assuming responsibility for promises made—and will *Guarantee* that you shall be provided for as soon after the 4th of March as may be practicable and in such a manner as to enable you both to leave Louisiana should you deem it necessary.<sup>60</sup>

Several years later testifying before a congressional investigating committee, Sherman was vague about having communicated with Anderson and Webber and having written such a letter, but did not positively deny that he had done so.<sup>61</sup>

Whether or not any money changed hands to obtain the returning board's certification of the Hayes electors has never been determined, but it is certain that three of the board members received very well-paying jobs after Hayes's inauguration. Wells became surveyor of the Port of New Orleans; Kenner obtained the deputy naval officership of the Port, and Anderson deputy collectorship in the same organization.<sup>62</sup> In July, 1877, the four board members

<sup>58</sup> Eckenrode, *Hayes*, 190; Haworth, *Election of 1876*, 111, 112.

<sup>59</sup> D. [A. Webber] and J. [James Anderson] to [John Sherman], November 20, 1876, copy in Sherman MSS.

<sup>60</sup> J [ohn Sherman] to D. [A. Webber] and J [ames Anderson], November 20, 1876, copy in Sherman MSS. For more information about this correspondence of the Louisiana politicians with Sherman see A. M. Gibson, *A Political Crime*, New York, 1885, 146.

<sup>61</sup> Gibson, *A Political Crime*, 145; Flick, *Tilden*, 340. See also the Potter Report, *House Report No. 140*, 45 Cong. 3 Sess.

<sup>62</sup> Flick, *Tilden*, 341 Haworth, *Election of 1876*, 112.

also reaped some other rewards for their conduct. After the Louisiana carpet-bag government had collapsed with the withdrawal of federal troops from the state, they were indicted for fraud and altering the returns. Their cases came up for trial and one of them, Anderson, was given a prison term for two years. However, the state supreme court on appeal reversed the decision, apparently on the grounds that the acts committed constituted no crimes known to state law.<sup>63</sup>

On December 5 the rumors of a possible decision favorable to Tilden definitely were scotched when the returning board announced its decision. It had thrown out enough Democratic votes so that the majority for the lowest Republican elector was 3435 and for the highest 4567. The Democratic electors refused to accept this board action as either legal or binding, but met and received a certificate from the Democratic candidate whom they claimed had been rightfully elected governor in 1872, John McEnery, and forwarded their votes to Washington.<sup>64</sup> The Republican electors, now that they had been certified as the bona fide group, hastily met and S. B. Packard, the local United States marshal and Republican candidate for governor, was able to triumphantly telegraph President Grant, "eight votes for Hayes & Wheeler have just been cast by the electors of Louisiana."<sup>65</sup>

In a letter to President Grant, the Republican "visiting statesman" described the proceedings of the canvass of the votes by the returning board and the great mass of evidence that had been collected in support of the certification of the Republican electors. They concluded their report by saying, "If political success shall be obtained by such violent and terrible means as were resorted to in many parishes of Louisiana, complaint should not be made if the votes thus obtained are denounced by judicial tribunals and all honest men as illegal and void."<sup>66</sup>

This Republican report, including a copy of the proceedings before the returning board, was published in pamphlet form by the "visiting statesmen" of that party. However, while this report was complete in every other respect, the portion of the testimony

<sup>63</sup> Bone, "Louisiana in the Disputed Election," *Louisiana State Quarterly*, XV (1932) part 4, 263, 264.

<sup>64</sup> *New York Times*, December 11, 1876.

<sup>65</sup> S. B. Packard to U. S. Grant, New Orleans, December 6, 1876, Record Group 60, General Records of the Department of Justice, Chronological Files of Eastern Louisiana (in National Archives). See the article by Bone, part 4, *Louisiana State Quarterly*, loc. cit., for a discussion of various irregularities involved in the casting of the Louisiana electoral vote.

<sup>66</sup> *New Orleans Times*, December 7, 1876.



before the board which included the cross examination of Eliza Pinkston was missing. This fact was called to John Sherman's attention by the gentleman who had written up the account of the proceedings before the returning board. He included with his letter a copy of the pamphlet marking the appropriate places where the missing testimony would have been inserted.<sup>67</sup> Nevertheless, apparently nothing was done to remedy this "oversight."

Meanwhile, the Democratic "visiting statesmen" before leaving for home wrote a letter to Abram Hewitt in which they denounced the action of the board as "arbitrary, unfair, and without the warrant of law. . . ."<sup>68</sup> Then they went on to show that the board was illegally constituted, and had acted in an unlawful manner, closing with the words, "Can we sanction such action . . . , and thereby form a precedent under the authority of which a party once in power may forever perpetuate its rule. . . ?"<sup>69</sup>

Trumbull, who was one of the most articulate of the Democratic "visiting statesmen," soon let the country know in greater detail how he felt about the events which he had just witnessed in Louisiana. Upon his return to Chicago, he wrote a letter to the editor of the *New York Post*, in which he challenged the statement the paper had made that the Louisiana returning board had acted in strict accordance with the state law. Trumbull claimed that the law which created the returning board through some omission did not provide for it the power to canvass returns for presidential electors. Also, he pointed out that in order for the votes to be thrown out by a board, a definite procedure provided by law should have been followed. This procedure had been disregarded by the board in its action. Therefore, Trumbull concluded, "after a careful examination of the Louisiana statutes it seems to me clear that the proceedings of the returning board were not according to the law of that state."<sup>70</sup>

The Republican feeling toward the Louisiana returning board's action was voiced by John Sherman who ever after maintained, "Whatever opinion may be expressed as to the correctness of the findings of the returning board, there can be no doubt that its proceedings were open, fair and impartial."<sup>71</sup>

<sup>67</sup> Albert Longlet to Sherman, Cincinnati, December 27, 1876, Sherman MSS.

<sup>68</sup> *Chicago Times*, December 6, 1876.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, December 22, 1876.

<sup>71</sup> John Sherman, *John Sherman's Recollections of Forty Years in the House, Senate, and Cabinet: an Autobiography*, New York, 1895, I, 556.



There was a great uproar at the action of the returning boards not only of that in Louisiana, but also those of Florida and South Carolina which likewise set aside Tilden majorities. The Democrats in all parts of the country were outraged that their candidate, who had been so clearly the popular choice, seemed to be deprived of his rightful place. There were many angry threats and even talk of a march on Washington.<sup>72</sup>

It is not within the scope of this article to recount the steps which led to the acceptance by both parties of the device of the Electoral Commission to settle the disputed election. How that Commission executed its duties and made its decisions in a strictly partisan manner also cannot be narrated here; nevertheless, the stage had been set for this ultimate outcome during the time that the two sets of lobbyists, representing both parties, had been in the South. Thus, the final stage of reconstruction became entangled with national politics, and led to a candidate, clearly not the popular choice, being inaugurated as President by means of highly irregular circumstances and procedures. The story of the "visiting statesmen" in Louisiana and the other Southern states is another shameful aspect of the post Civil War period, more fitting, perhaps, in a Balkan "free" election than in the United States.

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<sup>72</sup> McCormack, ed., *Memoirs of Gustave Koerner*, II, 616; Flick, *Tilden*, 358-364.

## Venezuelan Education During Liberation

The torch of liberty can be permanently lighted only by the lamp of learning. Although there were some beacons of first magnitude, the light of knowledge burned but faintly in colonial Venezuela and faded almost completely during the wars of emancipation from 1811 to 1819. The old Captaincy-General of Venezuela possibly gave more in thought, in men, and in resources to the cause of liberation than any other revolutionary area and suffered correspondingly greater losses.<sup>1</sup> Its colonial population of possibly 800,000 was diminished during the war years by one-third owing to battle, plagues, famine, and the great quake of 1812 which alone took about 25,000 lives in the chief cities. Learning and public education became notable war casualties, and poverty stalked the land.

Venezuela might be called the retarded child of the Spanish Empire in the Americas. Its coastal area proved unhealthy and inhospitable. Its vast interior *llanos* were inviting to farmers and grazers, but were chiefly off the paths of commerce. Pearl fishing around Lake Maracaibo was a limited occupation, and mining wealth was missing. Population clusters grew slowly, in the mountain area of the west at Mérida, in the western coastal region at Maracaibo, in the central coastal hills at Caracas, and far east in the little port of Cumaná, first of the European settlements in South America. Construction of interior roads by Spain would have proved an unprofitable luxury as far as trade and travel were concerned. The whole of the undefined region was in 1809 peopled by less than 200,000 Spanish born and Creole Whites, 62,000 Negro slaves, and about 540,000 Indians, free Negroes, and mixed races. It may be safely said that the great majority of inhabitants were illiterate. The Creoles as a class knew little about geography, world history, economics, or mathematics, nor were they schooled in music, paint-

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<sup>1</sup> J. Fred Rippey, "The Dictators of Venezuela," in A. Curtis Wilgus, *South American Dictators During the First Century of Independence*, Washington, D. C., 1937, 392-393; here will be found the population estimates used in this and the following paragraph.

ing, sculpture, or foreign languages but they cherished desires and ideals of education.<sup>2</sup>

Formal education in Venezuela followed slowly after the slow progress of settlement. A quarter of a century after the Jesuits had opened their Colegio de San Bartolomé in Bogotá, they moved beyond the mountains to Mérida where they opened a colegio in 1629.<sup>3</sup> An epidemic in 1651 stopped its growth for years since a number of the Jesuit instructors died of the fever. Three years after the whole northwest region was made the Viceroyalty of Nueva Granada the Colegio de Santa Rosa began its 1721-1722 sessions at Caracas and was elevated to the rank of a Royal and Pontifical University in 1725. The Jesuits commenced their College of Maracaibo in 1730 and another in Caracas in 1753. Education suffered a serious blow in the Colombia-Venezuela area between the years 1753 and 1758 when fifty-seven Jesuits in the ten colleges under their control died of the plague. The student population was similarly reduced by one fourth. The expulsion of the Society of Jesus from Spanish America in 1767 accelerated the decline in formal learning at Caracas, Maracaibo, and Mérida and gave rise to the tutorial system or to European training for a scattering of Creoles. At the end of the eighteenth century, Venezuelan culture radiated from Caracas. Maracaibo and Mérida, less able to compete with unfavorable realities, did not develop into seats of learning, but were rivals of Caracas in ambitions.

Eighteenth century Maracaibo had been noted for its progress in literature. The Jesuits there had maintained a high level of learning, "their scholars spoke Latin with uncommon elegance and facility, they understood perfectly rhetoric and the rules of poetry, wrote their own language with remarkable correctness, and in short, were adept in everything that constitutes and makes the scholar and gentleman."<sup>4</sup> Although their expulsion was a fatal blow to formal education in Maracaibo, which had become known as "the literary town of America," Dauxion-Lavaysse visiting it in 1807 noted its Creole class "preserve a decided taste for literature, . . . but what

<sup>2</sup> Rafael María Baralt and Ramón Díaz, *Resumen de la historia de Venezuela desde el descubrimiento de su territorio por los Castellanos en el siglo XV hasta el año de 1797*, Paris, 1841, 390.

<sup>3</sup> For a brief survey of the Jesuit colleges see Jerome V. Jacobsen, "Educational Foundations of the Jesuits in Colonial Hispanic America," in *Greater America. Essays in Honor of Herbert Eugene Bolton*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1945, 119-121.

<sup>4</sup> Antonio de Alcedo and G. A. Thomson, trans., *The Geographical and Historical Dictionary of America and the West Indies*, 5 volumes, London, 1812-1814, II, 449.

is the use of literature if not directed toward its proper object, that of promoting civilization and public liberty?"<sup>5</sup>

Although Cumaná at that time had no important school for public education, there was learning among its active Creoles. Dauxion-Lavaysse remarked that few Cumanese were educated in Europe but the wealthiest went to school in Caracas. The rest of the lettered Creoles studied Spanish, grammar, arithmetic, geometry, and the rudiments of Latin and music under private tutors. According to this visitor, Cumanese were less rich, less vain, more industrious, and shrewder than the youth of Caracas. Superior to Cumaná was Mérida. Its advance in formal education was second only to that of Caracas. The town boasted a college and a seminary where "the ministers of the catholic worship are founded, and where youth rescue those principles of education that are suitable to every station of life."<sup>6</sup>

Baron Alexander von Humboldt, who visited Caracas in 1804, found among its inhabitants of Spanish blood a real love of knowledge. They were acquainted with French and Italian literature, and showed marked musical ability but little interest in mathematics or painting and almost a complete absence of knowledge of the sciences. However, he did meet a Franciscan monk, Father Puerto, who proved to be an able astronomer and the compiler of a local almanac.<sup>7</sup> Nonetheless, Venezuelans generally were interested in politics and commerce rather than science, for Humboldt found no one interested in plant or mineral study.

As a whole, public education did not serve the coming educational needs of the Venezuelans. The role of educating in technical subjects those few fortunate enough to obtain learning fell often to the private academies. Father Pedro Sojo, the maternal uncle of Simón Bolívar, helped fill the musical requirements of his countrymen by establishing a musical academy in his own home in 1770.<sup>8</sup> From Rome, Sojo brought texts upon this art and also the first wind instruments in Caracas. By 1796, the first pianos had arrived in that city. Venezuela had begun to build her future fame in music, and the first opera came with the end of colonialism, in

<sup>5</sup> Jean François Dauxion-Lavaysse, *A Statistical, Commercial, and Political Description of Venezuela, Trinidad, Margarita, and Tobago*, London 1820, 138, 139, and 104.

<sup>6</sup> François Ramond Joseph Depons, *A Voyage to the Eastern Part of Terra Firma*, 3 volumes, London, 1806, III, 189.

<sup>7</sup> Alexander von Humboldt, *Personal Narrative of Travels to the Equinoctial Regions of America, during the years 1799 to 1804*, 4 volumes, London, 1889, I, 415.

<sup>8</sup> *Repertorio Americano*, I, October, 1826, 241.

1810.<sup>9</sup> In the home of the Ustáriz brothers, Luís and Francisco Javier, poetry held court. There, Andrés Bello, Vicente Tejera, and Juan Landaeta, in the fashion of the Parisian salons, read their first essays.<sup>10</sup> Meanwhile, Dr. Rafael de Escalona became the first teacher of modern physics in Caracas. In 1760, Colonel of Engineers Don Nicolás de Castro had opened in his home the first academy of mathematics. This institution lasted only until 1768.<sup>11</sup> Its closing delayed progress thirty years until Father Francisco de Andujar, a Capuchin, started a school of mathematics in his home in June, 1798. Andujar hoped to obtain financial aid from the Caracas cabildo in order to buy scientific instruments and to instruct poor children gratis. He failed in his plans, and his academy soon disappeared, but it was a sign of the times,<sup>12</sup> if not yet of public attitude. Simón Rodríguez, the eccentric tutor of the Liberator's early days was interested in public primary education, but his ideas on the subject were too "advanced" to be accepted by the Spanish regime.

The private academies and informal learned gatherings were characteristic of the effect of the Enlightenment. The upper class public also pursued knowledge individually. Even before 1800, the works of Raynal, Rousseau, Voltaire, Condillac, and John Locke's *Essay on Human Understanding* were read in their original tongues at Caracas,<sup>13</sup> despite their official disfavor. Humboldt explained that Creole youths employed dictionaries to translate both English and French and used every effort to master the two languages, especially the former.

Private libraries were the natural result of so much private reading. Leading scholars, as José Miguel Sanz, Juan Germán Roscio, Quintana and Escalona had fairly extensive collections. All the books were imported, for as yet not a printing press existing in Venezuela. One came in 1806 for a brief stay. When Francisco Miranda, the precursor of liberation, landed at Coro and attempted a popular uprising, he brought printed propaganda to help his

<sup>9</sup> José Gil Fortoul, *Historia constitucional de Venezuela*, 2 volumes, Berlin, 1907, I, 88.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 89.

<sup>11</sup> Angel Grisanti, *La instrucción pública en Venezuela*, Barcelona, 1933, 66.

<sup>12</sup> Lino Duarte Level, *Cuadros de la historia militar y civil de Venezuela*, Biblioteca Ayacucho, XX, Madrid, n.d., 214-217.

<sup>13</sup> Grisanti, 88. For excellent general accounts of the Enlightenment, see A. P. Whitaker, ed., *Latin America and the Enlightenment*, New York, 1942; John Tate Lanning, *Academic Culture in the Spanish Colonies*, New York, 1940, and A. Curtis Wilgus, ed., *Colonial Hispanic America*, Washington, 1936. The *Leyenda Negra* is explained and criticized.



cause. The press which produced it, he carried in flight to Trinidad. In 1808, Captain-General Juan de Casas permitted the establishment of the first Venezuelan press. The alleged reason for so radical a step was his intention to bring to the *caraqueños* a true picture of current events in Spain and thereby calm public excitement. To Trinidad, then, went Mateo Gallegher and Jaime Lamb. There they purchased, as the Venezuelan historian, Aristides Rojas, says, the same press that Miranda had employed for a vastly different purpose only two years previously! On this instrument the first newspaper in Venezuela was published, the *Gaceta de Caracas*, which first appeared on October 24, 1808. In its first article that day, it offered to aid politics and letters and to further public instruction. The paper solicited the assistance of all persons "instruídas en las Ciencias y Artes," and at the same time promised that it would not publish anything contrary to religion, the laws of the country, national customs, or damage the reputation of anyone. There was a more important promise, to publish as soon as possible "books of common use in the lecture halls of the University, of the schools, convents, or churches."<sup>14</sup>

Officially, all education centered around the University. In the colonial period there was only one university in Venezuela, that of Caracas. A royal cédula of Philip V dated December 22, 1721, and a papal bull of Innocent XIII of August 19, 1722, established the Royal and Pontifical University of Santa Rosa. The opening took place in 1725, at which time there were classes in theology, morning and afternoon, canon law, moral theology, philosophy, metaphysics, grammar, Scripture, and medicine. Franciscan and Dominican fathers were the first professors of Latin, ethics, and theology. The Tridentine Seminary had been founded in 1678. There, the chair of first letters had its origin. The University and the Seminary became a combined institution, thus providing all levels of learning.

M. Dauxion-Lavayssee recorded his detailed impression of the University in 1808, a picture which would soon change greatly.

Three professors teach enough Latin to read mass, Aristotle's physics, and the philosophy of Scotus, which still prevailed at this school in 1808. A professor of medicine demonstrates anatomy, explains physiology, all the laws of animal life, the art of curing, &c, on a skeleton and some preparations in wax. If in this orthodox country a provision for instruct-

<sup>14</sup> José Félix Blanco, and Ramón Azpurúa, eds., *Documentos para la historia de la vida pública del Libertador de Colombia, Perú, y Bolivia. . .*, 14 volumes, Caracas, 1875-1878, II, 177.

ing the profane arts and sciences has been neglected, it has not been so with the study of theology and canon law; . . . The University has also a professor who teaches the Roman law, the Castilian laws, the code of the Indies, and all other laws. In short, a professor of vocal church music forms part of this hierarchy of instruction, and teaches the students of law and medicine as those of theology, to sing in time and harmony, the airs of the Roman ritual.<sup>15</sup>

Depons was impressed by the stress on theology. There were two professors of philosophy, one of whom was a secular priest, and the other a Dominican. There was a professor of civil law, another of canon law. The colonial university had but one professor of physics. All degrees, however, were granted at this university—the bachelorate, the licentiate, the master and the doctorate. The degree of bachelor was conferred by the rector, but the two higher by the chancellor, who was always a canon. The university census of 1804 indicates the clerical emphasis of the university, a universal characteristic of higher education in colonial Latin America. In 1804, there were: in the lower classes, including rhetoric, 202 students, in philosophy 140, in theology thirty-six, in canon and civil law, fifty-five, in "physics" only eleven pupils, and "at the school for singing by note," twenty-two, thus producing a total of 466 students.<sup>16</sup> This limited curriculum prompted Robert Semple, an English visitor in Caracas, to write in 1812 that "the routine of education is such, as it may be supposed to have been in Spain two hundred years ago."<sup>17</sup>

A modern Venezuelan writer, Ángel Grisanti, would lift the blame from Spain for this trend, for the mother country herself lacked modern science and an aggressive scientific spirit. Her universities, fallen from their former prestige, were not as advanced as those of northern Europe.<sup>18</sup> Grisanti's compatriot and contemporary, Caracciolo Parra-Pérez, explains that Venezuela could not then have competed with the high intellectual culture of Peru and Mexico, for the funds, the population, and the necessity were largely lacking. He believes that Spain gave her colonies as much culture as she herself then possessed.<sup>19</sup> Generally, the curricula of colleges in the United States were quite narrow, too, at the time.

<sup>15</sup> Dauxion-Lavaysse, 51-52.

<sup>16</sup> Depons, 386. At that time, the University of Caracas had a capital of 47,748 hard dollars, 6½ reales, providing 2387 hard dollars, 3½ reales annually at interest. From this fund, the twelve professors were paid.

<sup>17</sup> Robert Semple, *Sketches of the Present State of Caracas*, London, 1812, 54.

<sup>18</sup> Grisanti, 85.

<sup>19</sup> Caracciolo Parra-Pérez, *El regimen español en Venezuela*, Madrid, 1932, 126-127.

Despite the preponderance of things ecclesiastical in university instruction, fields other than this were developing in the last days of the Spanish regime. The College of Lawyers was one of Caracas' most notable institutions at the beginning of the nineteenth century. There were several outstanding lawyers on the faculty. Dr. José Antonio Osío, Francisco de Quintana, Juan Germán Roscio, and the great lawyer and later patriot, José Miguel Sanz, were among them. In 1803, the chair of law was confided to the eminent advocate Juan Germán Roscio. He was not obliged to teach anything but the four books of the Institutes of Justinian, and that for only one hour daily, but Roscio was a born reformer. He amplified the traditional lessons for the better teaching of Roman law. By dictating and explaining Castilian and Indies law and comparing canon and civil law, he "penetrated Natural Law with general notions of political law, the evolution of societies, the beginnings of economy, philosophy of law, and of the history of institutions."<sup>20</sup> The scientific method had been introduced in a field most appropriate to the hour. Roscio was to change soon from a leader of theory to one of practice in the political field.

Medical studies received important impetus in those last full days of the eighteenth century. In 1763, Don Lorenzo Campins was installed as professor of medicine in Caracas. At his request Charles III created the Royal Protomedicato of Caracas.<sup>21</sup> Campins served until 1784. His method was to "have the student write, recite from memory, and explain three paragraphs which he read from some note books without any author's title, with which work he concluded and completed the class hour."<sup>22</sup> His successor followed this routine until he realized that the students would become acquainted with only a few illnesses, and would acquire the fundamental principles of only a segment of medical knowledge. Then, too, they would lack instruction in the latest physiological discoveries. Therefore, Dr. Felipe Tamariz inaugurated his own system of instruction. He used the text of Dr. William Cullen, whose work contained all the maladies known in that day. Furthermore, its content was adaptable to the Venezuelan situation and climate. Thus every day his pupils learned a disease just as Cullen discussed it. They took up the fundamentals of anatomy and surgery so

<sup>20</sup> Hector García Chuecos, *Estudios de historia colonial venezolana*, 2 volumes, Caracas, 1941, I, 57-58.

<sup>21</sup> The Royal Protomedicato was a tribunal of royal physicians where medical students were examined and licensed.

<sup>22</sup> García Chuecos, *op. cit.*, I, 60-61.

that within three years each student was exposed to the problems of each illness three times and each unit of anatomy four times. By 1803, when Tamariz recorded his accomplishments, his students were well versed in applicable physiology. They knew not only of the human body in its normal state of health, but also of the symptoms, causes, and cures of many sicknesses common in Venezuela.<sup>23</sup>

Primary education showed little promise as a basis for universal education. Only the upper classes were educated, and they often not too well. The great Venezuelan lawyer, thinker, and patriot, Sanz, about 1804 was called on by the cabildo of Caracas to frame a general code of laws. He hoped thereby to reform public education, but this cause was to wait until another regime achieved it. At that time, Sanz described the elementary education of the Venezuelan Creoles, emphasizing its flaws of superficiality. Home training, too, bode no good for a people who he hoped soon would be self-governing. Parents inculcated pride, he complained: "There can be no sincerity, peace, attachment, nor confidence, in a country where everyone makes it the object of his particular study to be distinguished above others by his birth and vanity." Sanz also attacked the pedagogical method typified by Caracas, saying,

Before a child is yet able to read what he is yet too young to understand, or scribble a little with his pen, they put into his hands the grammar of Nebrija without considering that, unable to speak his native language, to read, write, or calculate, it is ridiculous to put him to the Latin language, or to make him apply to the study of the sciences which are taught at the University. . . Is it not really pitiful to see a student . . . incapable of expressing himself with precision in his native language, of writing a letter, or even making the accents with tolerable correctness?<sup>24</sup>

Mediocre though the education was that Creole boys received, at least it was superior to the instruction given to girls. There was no special school for them in Caracas. They learned, therefore,

. . . only what their parents taught them, which was limited to a number of prayers, to reading badly and spelling worse. None but a young man, inspired by love, could decipher their scrawls. They had neither dancing, drawing, nor even music masters. All that they learned was reduced to playing by rote a few tunes on the guitar and piano-forte.<sup>25</sup>

so wrote François Ramond Joseph Depons, another French visitor in 1804.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 61. William Cullen (1712-1790) was a Scottish physician, noted for his studies of the nervous system.

<sup>24</sup> Depons, I, 115-116. Nebrija's grammar originally appeared in 1492.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 113-121.

Indians, slaves, laborers, and artisans generally lacked instruction. Only large Venezuelan towns had primary schools, and even in these populous centers one found no fixed rules or system of government inspection. After 1767, some Jesuit funds obtained by the confiscation of Jesuit properties were used for education, but only an insignificant portion of this sum was effectively employed. The Venezuelan historians, Rafael Baralt and Ramón Díaz, asserted that most of the colonial primary schools were supported by the towns or by beneficent foundations dedicated to learning and composed of private citizens.<sup>26</sup>

Even before the turn of the nineteenth century, signs of dissatisfaction with all branches and fields of education had been expressed. In 1788, in the Convent of la Purísima Concepción at Caracas, a literary contest was celebrated. In the propositions presented there it was declared that "The presidentes and visitadores ought to impose the reform of the doctrines and substances, long and uselessly discussed until now in all the study halls and classes of scholasticism," Father José Antonio Tinedo of the convent was the author of this plea for "the public utility of youth."<sup>27</sup> This revolutionary suggestion in a center of education was as a harbinger of educational progress.

José Miguel Sanz's vilification of the educational system was another symptom of internal disorder. He attacked the quality of the faculty. To cure all pedagogical ills, he suggested that,

... the amount of all those expenditures would be appropriated to the use of schools, to the liberal support of good teachers, capable of inspiring youth betimes with religious and political maxims. From such a course of study might be expected wise magistrates, enlightened citizens, who, not abusing authority in order to flatter their passions, nor religion in order to conceal their ignorance, nor power nor riches in order to oppress the poor, would become the ornament of society, and the active promoters of public prosperity.

Continuing in this vein, he expressed his indignation that all Venezuelan property was subject to ecclesiastical and monastic rents while there was still no provision for the payment of teachers, "who publicly instruct the rising generation in the principles of religion which they profess and in the duties which are incumbent on them as men and as subjects."<sup>28</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Baralt and Díaz, 394.

<sup>27</sup> Manuel Aguirre Elorriaga, "La instrucción en las postrimerías de la Caracas colonial," *Boletín de la Academia Nacional de la Historia*, XXVII, 118.

<sup>28</sup> Alexander Walker, *Colombia*, London, 1822, 410-411. Sanz's famous description of Venezuelan education is herein quoted from Depons.



Even the Captain-General of Venezuela, Don Pedro Carbonell, in a letter of information to the King dated May 9, 1795, mentioned the need of seven more chairs in the University of Caracas. Those proposed were in the fields of medicine, anatomy, surgery, Elemental and Natural History, and two of mathematics.<sup>29</sup> Humboldt came to Caracas shortly after this, as the university leaders, Escalona and Montenegro, were preparing the path for reform. The importation of foreign newspapers, the development of foreign commerce, and the visits and new ideas of foreigners like Depons, Dauxion-Lavaysse, and Humboldt himself were effecting a change. In January, 1800, Humboldt wrote to the *caraqueño* savant, Dr. Montenegro, that the University of Caracas needed a professor who could teach effectively what was useful and relative, and who was able to instruct youth in a subject close to the baron's heart, the value of mineral resources. Humboldt suggested that two professors be appointed, one for practical mathematics as applied in rural architecture and fortification, and another for chemistry and experimental physics. The latter mentor would apply his knowledge to agriculture. For this, instruments would be indispensable. Scales, barometers, thermometers, and hygrometers were required. For the optimum of usefulness in teaching, the Prussian geographer thought that the appointment of teachers ought to be left to capable persons who could best judge able instructors.<sup>30</sup>

It was only a few years later that François Depons wrote of the new attitude toward education. He remarked that national prejudices seemed to be breaking down. There was less contempt for foreign institutions. Venezuelan fathers no longer thought the study of geography a waste of time. They now even realized that history throws light on the future. Indeed, most educated people seemed to be looking toward the future, and Depons heralded it as he said,

... a happy revolution of opinion is now on the eve of being accomplished, and everything announces that the succeeding generations will exhibit to the astonished world the spectacle of a moral amelioration, achieved by the increased energy of the national wisdom in consequence of the admission of whatever is useful to the principles of other nations.<sup>31</sup>

The "future" of Depons became the present of Liberation. The "happy revolution of opinion" became a political fact. Venezuela achieved de facto independence on April 19, 1810, and

<sup>29</sup> García Chuecos, I, 100.

<sup>30</sup> Rojas, I, 326-328.

<sup>31</sup> Depons, I, 121.

on July 5, 1811, its liberty was officially declared. From almost the beginning, all patriot efforts were expended on the military, for Venezuela had to fight for existence. Economic considerations were of necessity secondary. Cultural affairs could at best be tertiary. And yet, the Wars of Liberation were the culmination, too, of years of philosophical and social reflection on the part of Venezuelan Creoles. These patriots in their idealistic and spiritual battle were often led by great men of letters, the Doctors Montenegro, Marrero, Rafael Escalona, Francisco José Ribas, the Ustáriz brothers, and the "Lycurgus of Venezuela," José Miguel Sanz.<sup>32</sup> It was natural that these men and the state documents they were to author would express at least in part the new educational philosophy for a new regime. From 1810 to 1813 this idealism was well recorded. After 1813, the constant civil turmoil, the "War to the Death," and the destruction of armies and towns somewhat cooled the ardor of theorists and considerably checked practical reform. The battlefield became the only field of endeavor.

Juan Germán Roscio in 1811 wrote an essay on the "Rights of Man and the Citizen." "Ignorance," he said,

is the greatest evil of a people; it is that which makes it credulous, superstitious, incapable of recognizing true essentials, and that which submits it to the cunning of oppressive governments. When a people has arrived at this point of stupidity, it is very easy for any passion to inspire it and to impose its yoke of slavery, by this despots and the ambitious apply a singular mind to perpetuate this want of knowledge, so much more said by the fanaticism that it fomented and by the blindness it perpetuates.<sup>33</sup>

Roscio advocated public instruction for yet another reason, to provide well-trained officials for the state.

The Patriotic Society of Caracas, led by Francisco Miranda, in 1811 offered to "dissipate the ignorance of peoples, elevate the ideas of the citizens to the high dignity of a free man . . . ,"<sup>34</sup> and thereby fulfill Roscio's hopes. It was, however, not in the province of such an organization to do more than propagandize.

The declaration of independence in 1811 meant of necessity the calling of constituent assemblies of Venezuela and by her provinces so that fundamental laws could formulate the duties, rights, and goals of the newly free people. These constitutions give insight into the way political personages as well as men of letters were thinking about education. The constitution of the Province

<sup>32</sup> Blanco and Azpurúa, *Documentos*, II, 26.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 468.

<sup>34</sup> *Memorias de Urquinaona*, Biblioteca Ayacucho, XI, 47.

of Trujillo was signed September 2, 1811. This interesting document specifically provided for free primary education. The municipal body was to name a primary teacher of sufficient training to teach children. He was to receive from the town government two hundred pesos annually. If this was not sufficient, the needed amount was to be made good by the regular revenue of the city. This teacher was to instruct gratuitously all the poor children of the vicinity and not to take from the well-to-do child more than four reales a month. Furthermore, the Reverend Father Guardian of the Convent of San Francisco was obliged to maintain within that institution a cleric to teach Latin to the youth of the province. He was to be appointed immediately, and the school was to be opened to the public for training in the classics.<sup>35</sup> The plea for better teaching and paid teachers was no longer the vain cry of Sanz alone. The system would be checked by the thing that created it, war.

Other constitutions were not so definite. Soon afterwards the Province of Caracas drew up its basic law, but the phrases therein relative to education were mostly so high-minded that they seemed nearly out of sight. Article 282 did express beautifully the theorizing of its creators.

The culture of the spirit is the only certain means of distinguishing the true and sublime virtues that do honor to the human species, and of knowing in all their force the horrible vices that degrade them and are perpetuated with impunity among all savage and barbarous nations. It is also the most opportune organ for making known to the People their imprescriptible rights, and the means capable of conserving them in the possession of that orderly and just liberty which wise Nature has dispersed to all. It is equally the most prompt and sure road which there is to gain the increase of its physical conditions, directing with certainty its activity and its talents to the exercise of agriculture, commerce, the arts, and industry, which augment the quality of its pleasures and constitute them master of innumerable productions destined to their services by a High and Generous Beneficence. . .

This flowery dissertation upon the benefits of learning was finally summed up with a declaration of the duties of government toward education.

A wise and enlightened government can not overlook procuring the culture of the reason and from that propagate and generalize it as much as possible among all its citizens. It will be therefore a duty of the legislatures and municipal governments, and of the magistrates of the state, to obtain the fomentation and propagation of literature and the sciences,

<sup>35</sup> Blanco and Azpurúa, *Documentos*, op cit., III, 366.

protecting particularly the establishment of seminaries for its teaching, and that of correct language and foreign tongues, and of private societies and public institutions which are directed to the same object, or to promote the betterment of agriculture, of the arts, crafts, manufactures, and commerce, without compromising the true liberty and tranquility of the people.<sup>36</sup>

The federal constitution of Venezuela was of the same spirit. Chapter IX entitled "Disposiciones Generales" called on the various provinces to,

Obtain the instruction of all the inhabitants of the state, to provide them schools, academies, and colleges where all who wish may learn the principles of religion, of sound morality, of science, and of the useful and necessary arts for the maintenance of prosperity of the people, to endeavor by all possible means to draw the said citizens to these houses of learning, to have them understand the intimate union by which they are bound, to all other citizens, to teach them that they deserve the same considerations from the government, and the rights which they enjoy by the simple act of their being men equal to all others of their kind, to the end that by this means, they may be raised from the abject and ignorant state in which they have been kept by the ancient state of affairs, and that they may no longer remain isolated and fearful of dealing with other men. . .<sup>37</sup>

An enlightened, free people in a free state, a better economy, a trained officialdom, and even a real democratic sympathy for every man, these were the apologies for a free, modern, broader, deeper, and universal education. But for the most part these, like most of the other rights and duties written in the first light of freedom in Venezuela were but theory. There were other effects of the era on Venezuelan education which, although often not as desirable, were not fanciful, but always expedient.

The most outstanding effect of the early years of independence on Venezuelan education was the establishment of the University of Mérida. Ángel Grisanti, a Venezuelan of our own day, lists this as the only important cultural event during the period under study, the so-called "Eclipse of Venezuelan Education."<sup>38</sup> Mérida had long been an intellectual rival of Caracas. The Royal College of Mérida had existed since 1787. It contained chairs of civil and canon law, theology, medicine, philosophy, and Latin.<sup>39</sup> Medical studies had been added in 1805. The seminary provided preparation for the College, the former offering "masters to teach read-

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 521.

<sup>37</sup> *Libro Nacional de los venezolanos, Actos del Congreso Constituyente de Venezuela en 1811*, Caracas, 1911, 413. See also Alcedo, V, 201 for an English translation.

<sup>38</sup> Grisanti, 117.

<sup>39</sup> García Chuecos, I, 73.

ing, writing, and arithmetic."<sup>40</sup> With all its facilities, the College still did not have the authority to confer doctoral degrees. Its alumni had to go to Bogotá or Caracas for the highest degrees. In 1801, the vice-rector of the College was sent as deputy to the University of Caracas to gain that body's approval of a petition proposed by the citizens of Mérida to ask Charles IV to raise the College to the rank of a university. The University of Caracas looked upon the request with disfavor. However, the petition was sent to His Majesty. There were many obstacles to its realization. The Governor of Maracaibo hoped that if any new university were created, it would be in his city, which had fallen under a comparative intellectual blight since the expulsion of the Jesuits. The smallness of Mérida's collegiate student body and of the area's income were handicaps of even greater weight. Then, too, the recent Gual-España revolt of 1797 which had been encouraged by ideas from France and the United States must have been in mind. Universities could be sources of dangerous innovation. Even Latin American universities were showing their restlessness.<sup>41</sup>

Charles IV refused to authorize a new university. His decision was so misquoted and misinterpreted that it was soon used by patriots to vilify the Crown as an eternal opponent of enlightenment and progress in the Americas. To his credit, Charles IV in 1806 authorized the conferring of higher degrees at Mérida. The degrees were of the same value as those conferred at Bogotá and Caracas. The practical goal had been achieved, but the honor of a title had been denied.<sup>42</sup> Nevertheless, the Méridan Junta in 1808 ordered celebrated with fireworks the royal establishment of the university! When 1810 brought virtual independence, the Venezuelan Patriotic Junta completed the Méridan dream. Interpreting the King's grant of a university's courses, titles, and privileges of conferring titles as the founding of a new university, the Creole-dominated junta established the University of Mérida! This junta went further, it established the faculties of anatomy, mathematics, ecclesiastical history, dogma, theological topics, and Holy Scripture.<sup>43</sup>

Mérida was so active due in part to her very liberal clergy. Many of them were ardent patriots. Juan José Mendoza was rector of

<sup>40</sup> Depons, III, 189.

<sup>41</sup> Grisanti, 112-118.

<sup>42</sup> García Chuecos, I, 101.

<sup>43</sup> Caracciolo Parra-Pérez, *Historia de la primera república de Venezuela*, Caracas, 1939, I, 311.



the College. In 1817, he became chaplain of the Liberating Army. Dr. Arias was named rector of the new university in 1810. In 1811, he was president of the provincial constituent assembly. With many another patriot, in 1812 he went to prison. Manuel Fajardo was named professor of medicine in 1810. He was a deputy to the Congress of 1811, and again he served in the same capacity at Angostura in 1819.

The growth of a new political and civil control over the University was demonstrated in November of 1811 when the University sustained Dr. José Reyner in his chair of Civil Law when the rector, Dr. Arias, had suspended him. Arias appealed to the provincial executive power. This body decided that ecclesiastical judges, chapters of the cathedral, and the bishops had no jurisdiction in the affairs of the University.<sup>44</sup>

The story of Mérida's university was cut short. The memorable earthquake of March 26, 1812, left the buildings in ruins. The city had had five convents, but only one remained. It was truly "an unvaried picture of ruin and desolation."<sup>45</sup> The royalist reaction of that same year ended the university for a time. Although later restored, even in 1823 it instructed only sixty students in Spanish, Latin, natural philosophy, and theology.<sup>46</sup>

The University of Caracas, older, greater, and more dignified, suffered almost as severely. The University was far more conservative than the College of Mérida.<sup>47</sup> Nevertheless, the University was to see real progress despite several reactionary outbursts.<sup>48</sup> The works of the eighteenth century philosophes now entered its cloisters. Locke's philosophy, the writings of Condillac, the physics of Bacon and Newton, more advanced mathematics, and "pneumatic chemistry" were introduced by 1812, "to the great displeasure of certain persons, whose luxury and corpulence were maintained by the ignorance of their countrymen."<sup>49</sup> In 1822, Colonel William Duane was to see a portrait of Newton in a place of honor, over a professor's chair.<sup>50</sup>

During this active period was begun the building of a library for the University of Caracas. It began as a very modest collection.

<sup>44</sup> García Chuecos, I, 226.

<sup>45</sup> *Letters Written from Colombia*, anon., London, 1824, 8.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, 8.

<sup>47</sup> Blanco and Azpurúa, *Documentos*, II, 345.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 61-97.

<sup>49</sup> Dauxion-Lavaysse, *op. cit.*, 52.

<sup>50</sup> William Duane, *A Visit to Colombia in the Years 1822 and 1823*, Philadelphia, 1827, 78.

In the will of Francisco Miranda, dated London, August 1, 1805, the great patriot had requested that,

... to the University of Caracas shall be sent in my name the classic Greek and Latin books of my library as a mark of appreciation and respect for the wise principles of literature and of Christian morals which nourished my childhood and with whose solid fundamentals I have happily overcome the grave dangers and difficulties of the present time.<sup>51</sup>

In 1810, a little library of the University and the Tridentine Seminary existed. Miranda's books may have been added to this. The patriot, Juan Germán Roscio, in 1811, hoped to establish a true public library as a symbol of Venezuelan independence and dignity. The baneful effects of war had their way, and no public library was organized until 1833.<sup>52</sup> As late as 1822 when Duane was there, the University's library was a sad spectacle; as he described it, there was "nothing modern in the library, but a map of the world, suspended so high, as to defy even the aid of spectacles; one of the ladies discovered it was turned upside down, and noticed it with the observation, that like everything it had undergone a revolution."<sup>53</sup> Duane mentioned that in the period of the Cádiz cortes,<sup>54</sup> about 1812, the presses of Valladolid and other Spanish towns published hundreds of important works in Spanish and English. He found a general interest in French literature among the educated Creoles similar to that discovered by Humboldt.<sup>55</sup> It was stimulated in the 1820's by a generous flow of foreign literature, but such importations were not received in the period under consideration.

As the University was part Medieval, part modern at this time, its faculty was also divided in allegiance. The rector of the Tridentine Seminary which was attached to the University, was Antonio R. Queipo. He had supported the Revolution until 1811, but in

<sup>51</sup> Blanco and Azpurúa, *Documentos*, IV, 477-479. Bolívar, in his last will, dated December 10, 1830, left to the University of Caracas two books, Rousseau's *Social Contract* and Monte-Cuculi's *Military Art*.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, 477.

<sup>53</sup> Duane, 76-77. Duane comments unfavorably on the physical appearance of the University. He said that it looked like an eleventh or twelfth century structure and that, "The lower apartments are gloomy—and much more crowded than the buildings of Caracas generally. The usual broad staircases of two flights leads to the upper apartments, which are more spacious and airy."

<sup>54</sup> Aristides Rojas, *Estudios históricos, Orígenes venezolanos*, 2 volumes, Caracas, 1891, I, 328.

<sup>55</sup> Duane, 78. Duane explains this by the fact that many Latin Americans and peninsular Spaniards had gone to England, France and the United States in exile, and, "being generally well educated and liberal men, and poor, have found sources of support in the preparation of works adapted to the circumstances of the New World."

that year he was deprived by Congress of the rectorate and was arrested for severely ejecting a scholar and for not informing the archbishop of his action. Now, he attacked the patriot government. In 1812, he declared that year's earthquake due to God's vengeance upon rebels.<sup>56</sup> Dr. Manuel Vicente Maya, professor of civil law and theology, was elected rector of the University in January, 1811. He was a deputy from La Grita to the Venezuelan constituent assembly. In that body, he gave education a voice and pled for the establishment of primary schools.<sup>57</sup> Felipe Fermín Paul was deacon of the College of Lawyers at the outbreak of the Revolution. He, too, was sent to the constituent assembly where he served as its president. In 1814, the general emigration before the royalist advance found him in flight to Saint Thomas. The rector of the University in 1814 was Dr. Gabriel José Lindo. He represented that institution when he spoke in favor of funds which the clergy "ought to contribute to the war's cost and the means which ought to be taken to provide for the armies." That same year, the University took part in a grand welcome for Bolívar.<sup>58</sup> That institution could change character with and by the changes of war.

The new government had been molded by the learned men of Venezuela, and in turn, it was to regulate education. The Venezuelan constitution of 1812 insured the preservation of the property and income of the University of Caracas and promised to promote and aid the advancement of that university "whose object and destinies are so interesting and useful to the welfare of the community."<sup>59</sup> The constitution provided that the Supreme Court would have the exclusive right to examine, approve, and facilitate the granting of titles to all lawyers of Venezuela. Their studies were required to be accredited. Lawyers who received diplomas in this way were empowered to practice law anywhere, although where there were law schools these exclusive privileges were annulled. The executive power of Venezuela could grant the right to practice law even to foreign lawyers in this same manner.<sup>60</sup>

The most harmful effect of the wars on university education there were law schools these exclusive privileges were annulled. University students were generally enthusiastic supporters of independence. As present day Latin American students enter the

<sup>56</sup> Urquinaona, *Memorias*, 140.

<sup>57</sup> Lino Duarte Level, *Cuadros de la historia militar y civil de Venezuela*, Biblioteca Ayacucho, XX, Madrid, n.d., 268.

<sup>58</sup> Blanco and Azpurúa, *Documentos*, V, 152.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 521.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, 521.

political scene, so did these scholars prove active in political demonstrations. On the first anniversary of the meeting of the Caracas junta, April 19, 1811, they burned portraits of Ferdinand VII and cried "¡Abajo el tirano, abajo los españoles!"<sup>61</sup> In July, when independence was declared, they repeated their shouts, screaming this time, "¡No mas tronos!"<sup>62</sup> Therefore, it seems that many students must have become soldiers voluntarily. There is evidence to show that numbers did, but others were inducted into the patriot army regardless of their wishes. On August 26, 1811, Dr. Maya made vocal the complaint against this imposition. His petition before the Venezuelan constituent assembly stated that the forcing of students into the army prejudiced their literary progress and was against the wishes of their parents. As rector, he pled for redress. A few days later, he complained that nothing had been done by the Secretary of War to exempt students from military service.<sup>63</sup> The problem grew much worse, not better.

The desperate military plight of the patriots after 1812 and the "War to the Death" in 1813 spelled total war. Every last resource was used for Venezuela's defense. One remaining supply of manpower was the University of Caracas. After this defeat at Barquisimeto, Bolívar ordered his aide, General José Félix Ribas, to take all the men of Caracas for his army, especially the students. Dr. José Antonio Pérez, vicar-general, pled with Ribas against this measure. Before this, Dr. Pérez argued, the students of the Tridentine Seminary had been spared. Pérez spoke of the usefulness of these young men to the state as well as to the church. Besides, there were only six persons in the faculty, none of them fit for military service. Their induction would surely mean the closing of the Seminary. Who would provide them with uniforms to replace their clerical gowns? Ribas was unmoved by these last vain pleas.<sup>64</sup> The students marched off to war. For the most part, they had never used arms before. Bolívar received almost 500 students from the University and Seminary during the long period of conflict. The Church and State long felt this loss of future leaders. At the Battle of Araure, some of the students formed a body of light cavalry known as the "Squadron of Scholars."<sup>65</sup> They marched

<sup>61</sup> Lino Duarte Level, *op. cit.*, 260.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, 268.

<sup>63</sup> *Libro Nacional de los Venezolanos*, 191 and 220.

<sup>64</sup> Juan Vicente González, *Biografía del General José Félix Ribas*, Biblioteca Ayacucho, XXIV, Madrid, n.d., 121.

<sup>65</sup> Rafael Urdaneta, *Memorias del General Rafael Urdaneta*, Biblioteca Ayacucho, XII, Madrid, n.d., 32.

toward San Carlos, but encountered a Spanish army on the heights of Vigirima, near Puerto Cabello. They were defeated; many fell, but later the Spanish column abandoned its position and valuable munitions to retreat to Puerto Cabello.<sup>66</sup> In 1814, General Montillo's army in its march to Machillanda boasted a corps of students who "deported themselves . . . with patriotism and with vigor; they took from the enemy a cannon and returned to their college with the laurels of victory."<sup>67</sup>

These are the outlines of military maneuvers, but to Venezuelan education they meant a great loss. José Domingo Díaz, a royalist editor, summed up the blow to learning in 1816. He estimated that of the more than four hundred students in the University in 1810, there were now less than one hundred, and most of these were small children who were learning their letters. Most of the rest had died in November, 1813 at Vigirima. The law school had numbered seventy-nine students in 1809, but only twenty-four remained in 1816. Of the thirty-eight medical students, seven years had reduced the number to twelve. The Tridentine Seminary had had seventy-three youths; now there were just twenty.<sup>68</sup>

Higher education had received an enthusiastic stimulus by the initial bright burst of liberty, but the exigencies of war retarded it later, and military necessity was to hinder both primary and secondary instruction in the same way. It seemed at first that war could create one type of education at least. As early as 1790, Dr. Agustín de la Torre, rector of the University of Caracas, had conceived the plan for academy of mathematics, but action soon stalled due to those foes of all great enterprises, official channels, official jealousy, and lack of funds. It was 1805 before the King crowned the accumulated disappointments with royal disapproval.<sup>69</sup> With Miranda's attempt to liberate his native land the next year, the public forgot this controversy. When the Revolution began, it was soon seen that military engineering skill was badly needed. Sucre and a few others had taken mathematics lessons from a private instructor at Cumaná. This teacher was Juan Pires, a Spanish engineer. On September 7, 1810, the *Gaceta de Caracas* carried an appeal to the military governor of Caracas. It mentioned the scarcity of those trained in the exact sciences. Knowledge of mathematics

<sup>66</sup> Mariano Torrente, *Historia de la revolución Hispano-Americana*, Madrid, 1829-1830, I, 420-421.

<sup>67</sup> Blanco and Azpurúa, *Documentos*, V, 42.

<sup>68</sup> González, *Biografía*, 294-295. The statement of José Domingo Díaz is quoted in full.

<sup>69</sup> Lino Duarte Level, 214-221.



and of the sciences would improve the quality of the army officialdom as well as prepare young men for many careers useful to the state. Therefore, the Supreme Junta planned to establish in Caracas a Military Academy of Mathematics. Entrance was to be free to all of good birth with preference shown to soldiers from twelve to thirty-two years old. Army men wishing to take advantage of this opportunity might ask the permission of their superior officers, and civilians were to present themselves to the sub-inspector of Engineers under whose direction the Academy was to be established. The scheme had no results.<sup>70</sup> In November, 1811, the constituent assembly considered the merits of such an institution. An aide of the Secretary of War presented the case. He said that the youths involved could attend the military mathematics college and thereby rise to a lieutenancy. His resolution was deferred, and not mentioned again.<sup>71</sup> The movement had had little support; although it favored the Creoles and their children, it did not gain much favor.

Venezuelan primary education was comparatively neglected during this second decade of the nineteenth century. It was to be the most stressed level of learning throughout the next decade. Dr. Fermín Paul in the 1811 constituent assembly succeeded in having Santa Ana raised to the dignity and privileges of a *villa*, and had created there a primary school.<sup>72</sup> The same assembly requested the Dominican fathers of the island of Margarita to see to the foundation of public schools as desired by the junta of that settlement. For its support, the assembly provided that the income of the convent of Margarita should be provided.<sup>73</sup>

The Seminary of Maracaibo was established in 1816, but it was a hope more than an example of the troubled times. Primary education was hindered by the general absence of elementary texts. Here, too, warfare had made more acute a bad situation. As late as 1824, the British educational reformer, Joseph Lancaster, complained that he could find not one "elemental book of any kind. All that I have to prepare, I have to translate and put into use. . ."<sup>74</sup>

Musical learning had long seemed more fundamental to the Venezuelan spirit than even the rudiments of letters, but even music was hushed. The royalist Díaz lamented its decline. Only four

<sup>70</sup> Rojas, I, 331.

<sup>71</sup> *Libro Nacional de los venezolanos*, 303.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, 145.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, 149.

<sup>74</sup> Simón Bolívar O'Leary, *Memorias del General O'Leary*, Caracas, 1881, XII, 245.

musical composers were left when he wrote in 1816.<sup>75</sup> General Boves had been greatly responsible for this. One writer called it "no trifling instance of the spirit which has characterized the war, that Boves, the Robespierre of Colombia, should have felt pleasure in sacrificing the professors and amateurs of this amiable art, which tyranny itself has frequently respected."<sup>76</sup> The same chronicler remarked ten years later that music still survived, but that "it may rather be said to scatter its sweetness widely on its native air, than to be a subject of scientific study or professional cultivation."<sup>77</sup>

After 1812, the Spanish royalists' part in Venezuelan events became larger. Like the effects of patriotic action upon education, the royalist role was both good and bad. The beneficial acts were mostly unapplied and inapplicable theory. Among the proposals of the deputies of America and Asia made to the Spanish national congress in December, 1810, the rectors of the American universities, and the deans of the law schools were to be made members of the consultative juntas to be set up in the capitals of each vice-royalty and captaincy-general.<sup>78</sup>

The liberal Spanish constitution of 1812 went further. It set up machinery and inspection for a primary school system. There was to be uniform teaching throughout Spain.<sup>79</sup> This trend was to be carried to the Indies. That year the Spanish Regency for Ferdinand VII called upon the Americans to cease rebellion. The Overseas Ministry was to have as its particularly important task public education, as education is "the basis of the happiness of man in society, and the government, recognizing its importance, believes it to be of primary attention to protect, augment, and reduce to a better system the primary schools in which are planted in youth the first seeds of the moral virtues. . . ."<sup>80</sup> The colleges, universities, academies, and other learned establishments would be encouraged by the ministry. Venezuelans, however, had placed themselves beyond the pale of Spanish influence.

At the end of 1813, the liberal Spanish Cortes took a seemingly radical step. Youths of African descent were to be admitted to higher educational institutions and ecclesiastical careers in the Americas. They could enter the universities, seminaries, and join

<sup>75</sup> González, 294.

<sup>76</sup> Francis Hall, *Colombia*, London, 1827, 51.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, 51.

<sup>78</sup> Blanco and Azpurúa, *Documentos*, III, 375.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 652.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 716.

religious communities if they fulfilled the requirements of the institutions in question, excepting those rules against color.<sup>81</sup> In 1814, Boves occupied the Venezuelan capital, and soon afterward had this proclamation published in the *Gaceta de Caracas*.<sup>82</sup> This might have broadened the opportunities of Negroes in more normal times, but at any rate, *pardos* had been admitted to the University of Caracas' school of medicine in 1797 and again in 1800.<sup>83</sup>

On the evil side of the Spanish role was the royalist reaction. As in all revolutions, the patriots had machinery for the suppression of opposition. Robert Semple, who was there in 1811, said that at the time the government of Caracas,

... sensible of the necessity of great exertion, instituted a tribunal of vigilance, which paid domiciliary visits and ordered arrests upon the slightest grounds of suspicion. The theater was shut, to prevent all assembling of the people, the parties, balls, and concerts were no longer heard of.

He bemoaned the officially-sanctioned liberty of the press which was in reality strait-jacketed by provisions against discussion of anything contrary to "the system of Venezuela."<sup>84</sup> In 1812, the same strict policy was continued by the royalists, but with even greater severity. The great educational leaders were imprisoned. José Miguel Sanz and Dr. Roscio were cast into the dungeons of La Guaira. The nineteenth century Venezuelan historian, Aristides Rojas, mentions a letter written by the supreme chief of the Spanish expeditionary army, General Morillo, in 1817. It seems to describe Morillo's attitude. He told the governor of Guayana to do as he had done in New Granada, cut off the heads of those who could read and write and thereby achieve the pacification of America!<sup>85</sup> Earlier, Morillo had said that the authorities ought to be vigilant in observing the law colleges of New Granada and Venezuela, for their products by tongue and pen diverted public opinion.<sup>86</sup> And yet, this was not a total view of the man, for he wanted to train Venezuelan orphan boys in useful trades and teach his non-commissioned officers tactics and mathematics.<sup>87</sup>

By 1815, the war in Venezuela had passed its early stage. Edu-

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, V, 27.

<sup>82</sup> González, 196.

<sup>83</sup> Caracciolo Parra-Pérez, *El regimen español en Venezuela*, Madrid, 1932, 132.

<sup>84</sup> Semple, 136.

<sup>85</sup> Blanco and Azpurúa, *Documentos*, II, 343.

<sup>86</sup> Antonio Rodríguez Villa, *El teniente general don Pablo Morillo*, 3 volumes, Madrid, 1908, III, 197.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 204 and II, 244.

cation gained little practical value from either side for some years to come. Destruction rather than construction was the rule in economic, political, social, educational, and military affairs.<sup>88</sup> Until 1821, devastation continued. Then, the educational reforms of 1810 to 1815 could be solidified and renewed. Simón Bolívar, who had been the prime mover in the gaining of independence, was to be the initiator of a more liberal educational system. He had been as a boy under the influence of the crusader for liberal, even radical, primary education, Simón Rodríguez. In 1819, Bolívar stated before the Congress of Angostura that popular education was necessary to the new state of Gran Colombia. That better system was drawn up in great detail by the Congress of Gran Colombia in July of 1821. It established universal, free, and compulsory primary education to produce a literate population with sound understanding of Christianity and its moral duties as well as the rights of man in political life. Each city, town, and village of more than one hundred inhabitants was to have a preparatory school supported by the revenue of the town's domains, and to raise other needed educational funds the local judges were to assess the citizens according to their ability to pay a certain monthly sum. All children were to attend school gratis. Local judges were to pay the schoolmaster monthly and regularly, and the latter was to be named by the governor of the province from a list of three presented by local cabildos. Indian villages' schools were to be supported by farm produce and custom revenues. As a minimum, each teacher would instruct his students in reading, writing, spelling, arithmetic, and church dogmas as well as in the rights and duties of citizenship.<sup>89</sup> Parents of children between the ages of six and twelve not in school were to be fined four pesos for the first offense, and double the amount if opposition continued after fifteen days. Each town was to have a girls' school in which the "three R's" would be learned. Higher education was remembered in a provision for a college in each province with chairs of civil, canon, natural, and national law, theology, and "any other professorship which the free will of the inhabitants, sanctioned by the Supreme Government, may establish." These were to be supported by the chapeleries in the particular provinces whose legal possessors were unknown, and by revenues

<sup>88</sup> Rojas, *op. cit.*, I, 207. The author says that several libraries were destroyed by the hatred aroused by the reaction after 1812.

<sup>89</sup> Walker, 423. Walker quotes in full these school laws. In 1820, H. L. V. Ducoudray Holstein could write that even at that late date few schools for girls had been established by the government; H. L. V. Ducoudray Holstein, *Memoirs of Simón Bolívar*, Boston, 1829, 21.

of the domains of the cabildos.<sup>90</sup> These school laws of 1821 were the first in the Western Hemisphere to propose so complete a system. But for the most part they were a dead letter.<sup>91</sup>

In a personal capacity, Joseph Lancaster tried to fulfill some of the decrees of the lawmakers of Gran Colombia. At the beginning of Venezuelan freedom, the seeds of his work had been planted, for in September, 1810, in Piccadilly, London, he met Simón Bolívar in the home of Francisco Miranda. Bolívar was in London with the great educator of a later day, Andrés Bello. Together with Luis López Méndez they were in Great Britain seeking aid for the new government of Caracas. In 1824, the Quaker Lancaster arrived in Caracas to help the new state in things educational.<sup>92</sup> His efforts were mostly in vain. Planning to teach free all who wanted to learn, he hoped to establish a normal school in Venezuela and to give the army basic knowledge so that "the warriors of the homeland of Bolívar be as celebrated by their valor as by their instruction."<sup>93</sup> Lancaster wanted to provide this mass education with a minimum of expense by means of his already world-famous Lancastrian or monitorial system, selecting the brighter students to instruct the average or backward pupils. While in Caracas, he adopted several boys orphaned by war, and planned to train them as teachers.<sup>94</sup>

Meanwhile, Bolívar had offered 20,000 duros for these pedagogical pursuits. The money was to be delivered to London by agents of the Peruvian government, and Lancaster might draw upon it as soon as he saw fit. The Liberator further promised to add to the amount when the original would be exhausted.<sup>95</sup> He even ordered the establishment of a normal school in the capital of each department.<sup>96</sup> As the money had not as yet been deposited in London, Lancaster got no cash, and in 1826 the cabildo of Caracas refused to pay the Englishman his salary. Bolívar reprimanded it, but Joseph Lancaster soon left Venezuela.<sup>97</sup>

From the first independent action in 1810, Venezuelan education was destined to profit, for it was a revolution of the enlightened minority against a less advanced minority and system. Much had

<sup>90</sup> Walker, I, 413-425.

<sup>91</sup> Grisanti, 132.

<sup>92</sup> O'Leary, XII, 244.

<sup>93</sup> "Escuelas Lancasterianas," *Repertorio Americano*, II, London, June, 1827, 77.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 78.

<sup>95</sup> Vicente Lecuna, *Cartas del Libertador*, Caracas, 1932, IV, 295.

<sup>96</sup> "Bolívar y la educación Latino-Americana," *Cultura Venezolana*,

<sup>97</sup> Lecuna, V, 236-237.



been achieved directly through the leadership of that minority from 1810 to 1815. The press, although a political and military weapon, had at least been created; many newspapers would follow. Higher education, because its subject matter contained complex thought which the Revolution wished in part to preserve and in part destroy, felt the greatest effects. Its recently vaunted schools of law and medicine had been ruined by depopulation, but the new need for and attitude toward those two fields forebode their future recovery. Lower education would require a whole new, intricate system, and the desperate years, 1810-1815, saw no time, money, or thought for this. Even the next decades lacked funds and sufficient educational manpower. The returns of the earlier period had to be immediate. Although long-term rewards of instruction were left for much later leaders, the educational theories, and the more logical outlook toward childhood and its learning problems were clearly defined in the emancipation period.

The half century from the American Revolution to the conclusion of South American emancipation was in Venezuela a period of transition in which a new cultural basis was built.<sup>98</sup> Progress would be slow, but for the role of the Creoles in national affairs, there was no transition. Education was primarily but not entirely for them, in that Bolívar and others favored instruction for all the people. The evils he wanted to dissipate were described by Francis Hall, a visitor to Venezuela in the 1820's, as:

... knowledge not flowing from a general system of education, in harmony with existing institutions, but knowledge infinitely various in its sources, at war with established opinions, and directed by no experience; hence the new political fabric was discordantly and weakly constructed . . .<sup>99</sup>

Still, even this early, truth was a bit better served, and the truth would make the people free. The lamp of learning had become brighter alongside its new champion, the torch of liberty.

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<sup>98</sup> Duane, 80.

<sup>99</sup> Hall, 54.

## Book Reviews

*Historians and Their Craft: A Study of the Presidential Addresses of the American Historical Association, 1884-1945.* By Herman Ausubel, Ph.D. Columbia University Press, New York City, 1950. Pp. 373. \$4.75.

If you like to see authorities in disagreement, you will certainly enjoy this volume. A very detailed study of this conflict has been made by Dr. Ausubel, using as a basis the historical thought reflected in the presidential addresses given at various meetings of the American Historical Association during the period from its founding in 1884 until the meeting in 1945. The addresses themselves are not given, but direct quotations are given from some, and the substance of others is presented. At the end of the volume, incidentally, a short bibliography is presented which will enable one to locate the addresses themselves, as well as other writings about many of his historians concerned.

In order to bring a degree of meaning into the comparisons, the author has presented the points of view among the authors as related to such matters as the immediate usefulness of history, history as literature, facts in history, the science and philosophy of history, individuals in history, and the content of history. In every such division of the material, there is considerable disagreement.

Andrew D. White, the first president of the Association, was convinced of the immediate usefulness of history. He firmly believed that the study of history could play an important role in the improvement of mankind. He argued in his address in 1884 that by studying the past we could throw much light on the present. Even at that date, 1884, which now seems rather remote, White was concerned because statesmen like John Adams, Jefferson, Webster and others who "could take advantage of their familiarity with history" had been supplanted with politicians "whose historical knowledge could stand considerable improvement." We wonder what White would think of many of our present spokesmen in the Senate, could he return to see them. Fortunately for him, such an opportunity will presumably not be granted.

A half dozen years later, in 1890, John Jay emphasized not only the immediate usefulness of history, but demanded that history be taught so as to foster patriotism. His arguments bear more than a slight resemblance to those being circulated at the time by Treitschke and other members of the so-called Prussian School. Jay, as bigoted as his grandfather, the first Chief Justice, had already written pamphlets with self-explanatory titles, such as *Rome in America* and *Rome, the Bible, and the Republic*. In his presidential address he continued his campaign to save Washington from Rome. Jay pointedly referred to the Catholic University, opened in 1889, as a "foreign university with a chair devoted to canon law, a system in antagonism with the Constitution and the common law on which the entire fabric of the Republic rests." Jay was also much concerned over

the immigrants then arriving, "a vast multitude who in their ignorance are ready to subvert our institutions, to supersede our national principles and rights, which they do not understand, and even in some cases to force into our public schools not only un-American ideas, but a foreign tongue." It is at least encouraging to realize that it is very doubtful if a president of the American Historical Association would even think of presenting today such drivel in his presidential address.

In 1904, Goldwin Smith stressed his belief that moral values should be clearly presented in historical writings; in 1909, however, Albert Bushnell Hart declared that "it was no part of the function of the scientific historian to distinguish between right and wrong, between virtue and vice; it was no part of his function to draw moral lessons from history." Hart urged his hearers "to avoid using history for propagandistic purposes." In 1912 Theodore Roosevelt stressed the practical value of history and also emphasized the ability of history to inspire sympathy and to arouse emotion. In the following year, however, William A. Dunning protested, in his address, against overemphasis on the immediate usefulness of history.

The disagreement among historians is evident, too, with reference to the freedom of man. In 1916, George L. Burr made clear his belief that man has freedom of will and action; in 1919 William R. Thayer took a similar position. Edward P. Cheney, in 1923, in formulating his "Law in History" made it evident that he believed that man lacked any freedom of will; men were simply subject to inexorable laws in history. In 1929, James Harvey Robinson urged that the historian should "devote more study to man's animal heritage; he should recognize that man was a super-animal, not a degraded angel." He recommended that the historian study the writings of such animal psychologists as Köhler and Pavlov.

Thus the controversy has been waged, as to the nature of history, and the objectives of historical writing and teaching. This book presents the conflict adequately, clearly, and objectively. The compiler, Dr. Ausubel, has not become actively concerned in the battle of words and the conflict of ideas.

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*Tito and Goliath.* By Hamilton Fish Armstrong. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1951. Pp. xi-312. \$3.50.

*Tito and Goliath* is far more than just the story of a little satellite behind the iron curtain fighting back against his would-be keeper. Between the lines of this volume is everywhere evident the fact that nationalism is stronger than communism. The leaders of communistic states want their totalitarian powers intact, but they want them within the perimeter of their national states. They do not want to surrender to soviet Russia. To many of us Tito seems to stand alone. This is not so. One after another of the communist leaders in Poland, Hungary, Macedonia, Bul-

garia, went to their death because they championed the cause of national communist states. They wanted to refuse dictation from the Kremlin. The higher they stood the more imperative was their liquidation in the eyes of Stalin, because it put fear into those who might wish to follow in their footsteps. Such among others were Rajk and Rostov. So, Titoism is not an isolated fact nor the first of its kind.

The most striking lesson hidden in this book is that Russia wants to be the world island. All else must be subservient to this mania. If this subservience means the sacrifice of national consciousness and national independence, and it means only that, the sacrifice must be made. No amount of academic debate could bring into bolder relief this fact of Russian predominance than the fine narrative of Mr. Armstrong who knows where-of he speaks and speaks only in concrete pictures. Tito refuses to accept Stalin's dictation. Others refused and they are no more. Will Tito also be liquidated? Apparently his strong army, his personal courage and the peculiar character of his people, are a challenge to Stalin. The Kremlin dictator is in a dilemma and knows no immediate solution nor apparently his next move. Meantime Tito is turning westward for economic help where he is sure that it least Yugoslav national identity will not be lost.

At heart, by philosophic conviction and in set practice, Tito is a communist and nothing else. He moves slowly in his country but surely. His only quarrel with Moscow is nationalism. The impact of this spirit of nationalism is a threat not to communism but to Stalin's design to dominate the world from the Kremlin. Sovietism makes much of the principle that there can be no competition among soviet republics. Tito has effectively blasted this principle. Supplies of raw materials, industrial advance and fair market practices must be the characteristics of the soviet republics just as they are of the capitalist democracies and states, unless the soviet republics surrender their national identity and independence. This Tito will not do. This is Titoism. Under this name we know it in Jugoslavia, but the idea had been the undercurrent in Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania, indeed in all the satellite states, before Tito gave to it a name.

Mr. Armstrong gives us a fine analysis of the tactics Stalin is using in his efforts to establish his supremacy. Stalin has only the lust for power and communism is a handy tool, but only such communism as he designs. It is astounding, as one reads along in this volume, to realize how utterly useless are any motives of justice, truth, even civilized ideas in general, to say nothing of conscience, in the Stalin politics. A studied reading of the volume must bring home to any reader a sense of the threat from the Kremlin not only to international relations, but even to a rudimentary decency in human relations.

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## Notes and Comments

There comes to hand a very handy book from Philosophical Library, Inc., of New York. It is *San Martín* by J. C. J. Metford, Lecturer in the Department of Hispanic Studies, University of Glasgow. It is written as a tribute to the great South American commemorating the hundredth anniversary of his passing in Paris in 1850. The style is very smooth and even chatty. The author reveals an excellent grasp of the background for the whole area of San Martín's life and deeds, although no page is marred by a footnote. The narrative is based on Bartolomé Mitre's life of The Protector and upon extensive archival reading, while the quotations are chiefly from the British witnesses of the more dramatic moments of the hero's life—Basil Hall, General Miller, Lady Callcott, Miers, Haigh, Stevenson, and "El Diablo," Cochrane.

Historians will immediately ask: "What does the author say about the meeting between San Martín and Bolívar at Guayaquil?" Really, nothing new, except the opinion that San Martín had no political ambitions to preside over any part of South America, and when he considered his military work done he left the scene to others. Metford believes such an action was quite in character with the vigorous San Martín whom he has portrayed—a soldier. The military achievement of the man occupies most of the space in the 148 pages of the book.

Some of our textbook writers will be annoyed to see on the first page that Pedro de Alvarado has taken the honor of founding Buenos Aires in 1536 from Pedro de Mendoza and on page 118 that Bolívar's life is extended to 1831. No one will agree that Rivadavia brought order out of the anarchy in the provinces as is indicated on page 122. In this same page there is quite a gap regarding the manner of San Martín's departure from the Argentine. All will be thankful for a "new" San Martín and will be happy to believe that he was not addicted to narcotics but took opiates for pain from ulcers and lung trouble. The appendix, containing a description by Staples rather opposite to that of Lady Callcott, has a few naive remarks as an introduction, especially: "because of her alliance with Spain," Great Britain "was prevented from entering into official relations with the revolted colonies," and was "limited to mediation between the belligerents, in the



hope that Spain would eventually find some means of reconciling the colonists to her continued sovereignty." Despite the word "official" no Canning student will subscribe to this. However, you have here a very readable book.

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The University of Chicago Press has just put forth *Democracy in a World of Tensions: A Symposium prepared by UNESCO*, under the editorship of Richard McKeon assisted by Stein Rokken, at the list price of \$4.50. In this collection of essays thirty-four prominent authorities from almost as many nations and representing all schools of thought reply to a detailed questionnaire prepared by UNESCO on the ambiguity, the forms, objectives, and implications of the term 'Democracy'. Prompted by the vague and divergent connotations attributed to this word by the opposite sides of the iron curtain, the study is a remarkable attempt to obtain the best defenses of both viewpoints. Among the contributors are such celebrities as John Dewey, Ducasse, Jorgensen, Röpke, Rudolf Schlesinger, and Lord Lindsay of Birker. An analytical survey of the responses attempts to correlate the conflicts and agreements, but succeeds only in illustrating the complexity of notion of Democracy.

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*Frontiers of the Northwest, A History of the Upper Mississippi Valley*, by Harold E. Briggs, Ph.D., which was first printed in 1940 by D. Appleton-Century Company, has been reprinted (1950) by Peter Smith, New York. Professor Briggs, author of the article appearing in the first pages of this number of MID-AMERICA and of other articles in the past, was at the time of the first publication of his work Professor of History at the University of Miami, Coral Gables, and is now at Southern Illinois University. It is good to have this colorful and scholarly work available again to students and for general reading purposes, since it tells of every activity, institution, phase of life, and of all important moves and characters of the vast Northwest frontier of the last century.

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The latest publication in The University of Missouri Studies series is *Mexico During the War With the United States*, by José Fernando Ramírez, Edited by Walter V. Scholes, and Translated

by Elliott B. Scherr. It is published by University of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri, 1950, and is paper bound for \$2.50. This is a collection of the letters and political diary of Ramírez, one of the more important *políticos* of Mexico's turbulent history. As such it must be read warily. But it contains much factual material suitable as an inner background of the Mexican state of affairs immediately preceding and during the war. The translation which is very good, was made from Volume III of Genaro García's *Documentos inéditos*, published in 1905, and the editing and arrangement by Dr. Scholes is a very great help.

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A slow moving trend toward publishing longer articles in the more local historical quarterlies was followed by the editors of *Annals of Iowa* in their October, 1950, number. There we find in fifty-five pages: "Iowa Department of Public Instruction; Its Origin and Development," by John Purcell Street. The publication of such long studies in a single number may arouse some criticism on the part of readers wishing shorter and snappier articles, but it has already met with the approval of students and scholars for whom the factual material has been made more readily available and more ample and for whom the area of study has been made more comprehensible. In the same *Annals* for January 1, 1951, fifty-two pages on Civil War Copperheads are taken by Frank C. Arena in his article: "Southern Sympathizers in Iowa during the Civil War Period."

Other examples have appeared recently. Horse racing in Rush Park, Iowa, forms the content of the entire number of *The Palimpsest* of September, 1930. The general title of the four articles is "Lexington of the North," under which there are biographical sketches of Charles W. Williams, who originated the idea of breeding trotters in Iowa and also *The American Trotter* in 1891, of several noted trotters, and of the noted Rush Park. The contents of the October number of *The Palimpsest*, by six writers, were "The Lee Newspapers," an account of Albert W. Lee and the chain of newspapers under his control.

*West Virginia History*, printed a forty page biographical sketch "Ebenezer Zane, Frontiersman," by John Gerald Patterson, in its October 1950 number. It is an interesting and instructive account of Colonel Zane on the Ohio frontier covering the years 1747 to 1812.

"Body Snatching in Ohio during the Nineteenth Century" is perhaps the most sepulchral title yet to appear in an historical magazine. It is just inside the cover of the brilliantly striped *Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* of October, 1950. The article by Dr. Linden F. Edwards and the two following it were read as papers at the meeting of the Committee on Medical History of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society last April. At the end of the same number there are two useful bibliographies, one a survey of the publications on Ohio from August, 1949, to July, 1950, and the other on the publications of the Ohio Academy of History. In the January, 1951, number there is a notable critical review by Carl Wittke: "An 1850 Preview of *World's in Collision*," in which the historical value of Velikovsky's best seller is practically nullified.

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Among the interesting papers in *The South Atlantic Quarterly* for January of this year is a new assessment of *The Chronicles of America* by Richard L. Watson, Jr. The author felt urged to his task by the appearance of the six volumes that have been added to the series to bring *The Chronicles* to present times. These last volumes fare well at the hands of Dr. Watson except for volume 54, Fletcher Pratt's *War for the World*. The critic makes some judicious remarks about the strength and weaknesses of the series as a whole.

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The first number of the *Revista Interamericana de Bibliografia—Review of Inter-American Bibliography*, dated January 1951, is now published. The Pan American Union, the General Secretariat of the Organization of American States, is the sponsor and publisher of the quarterly, which is to contain bibliographical studies, reviews, and materials in four languages—Spanish, English, Portuguese, and French. The annual subscription price is three dollars. A distinguished staff is employed in the editorial work. It is hoped that the present photo-type will soon be changed to formal print, but support is needed to this effect. The title of the quarterly, the headings of articles and of notes appear in both English and Spanish and seem somewhat awkward, especially for citation purposes. This form may be changed, though the editors have been hard put to devise one more suitable for the general purposes of the publication.

Articles on James Madison fill *The William and Mary Quarterly* for January, 1951. Under the broader title "James Madison, 1751-1836, Bicentennial Number," Irving Brant has "Madison: On the Separation of Church and State"; Theodore Bolton has a finely illustrated description of "The Life Portraits of James Madison"; Douglas Adair has "The Tenth Federalist Revisited"; Margaret Bailey Tinkcom's "Caviar Along the Potomac: Sir Augustus John Foster's 'Notes on the United States,'" is very interesting; but H. Trevor Colbourn has a noteworthy "punch line" account in his "Madison Eulogized: The Hearst Tournament of Orators." This piece of satire and humor has the subtitle: "The Hearst Tournament of Orators glorifies (one year early) the anniversary of the birth of the Father of the Constitution." It is well worth reading.

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A warm welcome to the circle of historical magazines is given to *The Montana Magazine of History*, born in January, 1951. The Legislature of the State of Montana is to be congratulated for establishing The Historical Society of Montana, and the Society is to be congratulated for carrying out so well the publications provision of the law. The format and contents of the first number are very pleasing. The thick paper cover, a knotty pine design, encloses eighty-eight pages of articles, reviews, illustrations and news. The Editor is the experienced Albert J. Partoll, and the President of the Board of Trustees of the Society is Norman Wine-stine. The quarterly is to be published in Helena and goes with the membership fee of three dollars.

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*Life on the Upper Susquehanna*, by James Arthur Frost, has just now (March 29) been published by King's Crown Press, the branch of Columbia University Press devoted to making scholarly materials available at minimum cost, which in this case is \$2.75. The book is advertised as a concise history of the people of the land of James Fenimore Cooper. Its text confirms the statement, since it runs to 128 pages, but there are 38 pages of notes and bibliography to add value to the contribution. The pattern is unique and quite noteworthy. Frost does not limit his area of research too strictly along geographical lines nor does he identify his people with the too general American citizen, as is so common in local

history and biography. He points to similarities between the early settlers of the New York lands and those of other regions, but is artful enough to indicate special differences in the Susquehanna reactions to the political, social and religious phases of our national and the New York State development. He has produced a nice argument against many time-honored generalizations about pioneers, frontiers, and struggles in new lands. Poverty and distress did not force settlers to squat in the Upper Susquehanna vales. Thrifty Protestants saw there a good investment; Catholics, foreigners and others were practically excluded. Independent thought in the region refused to be harnessed to national or state political machines. The concluding chapter is a summary of the contribution of the Susquehannans to the national scene.